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NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

NAVAL OFFICER ATTITUDES TOWARD THE "DON'T ASK, DON'T TELL" POLICY

by

Alfonzo E. Garcia

March 2009

Thesis Advisor:	Mark J. Eitelberg
Co-Advisor:	Gail F. Thomas

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The U.S. military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) policy continues to stimulate heated debate over its effectiveness in promoting unit cohesion, good order and discipline, personal privacy, and other organizational objectives. As military leaders focus on recruiting and retaining the highest quality personnel to fight the global war on terrorism, an increasing number of authoritative voices can be heard asking if the DADT policy has become outdated, unnecessary, or simply too costly. The present research seeks to identify trends in the attitudes of Naval officers regarding DADT, which was implemented in 1993 amid significant controversy. The study involved administration of a survey to students at the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) in November and December 2004. The same survey was administered at NPS in 1994, 1996, and 1999, providing four data points to evaluate trends and changes in attitudes toward DADT. The comparison of responses to the four surveys shows that a majority of officers in 2004 do not support having homosexuals serve openly in the military. As found in two previous surveys, negative views toward the service of homosexuals have declined over time. Additionally, measures of tolerance have increased noticeably over the years since DADT was introduced.

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NAVAL OFFICER ATTITUDES TOWARD THE "DON'T ASK, DON'T TELL" POLICY

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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from the

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ABSTRACT

The U.S. military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) policy continues to stimulate heated debate over its effectiveness in promoting unit cohesion, good order and discipline, personal privacy, and other organizational objectives. As military leaders focus on recruiting and retaining the highest quality personnel to fight the global war on terrorism, an increasing number of authoritative voices can be heard asking if the DADT policy has become outdated, unnecessary, or simply too costly. The present research seeks to identify trends in the attitudes of Naval officers regarding DADT, which was implemented in 1993 amid significant controversy. The study involved administration of a survey to students at the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) in November and December 2004. The same survey was administered at NPS in 1994, 1996, and 1999, providing four data points to evaluate trends and changes in attitudes toward DADT. The comparison of responses to the four surveys shows that a majority of officers in 2004 do not support having homosexuals serve openly in the military. As found in two previous surveys, negative views toward the service of homosexuals have declined over time. Additionally, measures of tolerance have increased noticeably over the years since DADT was introduced.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND: POLICY DEBATED

In 1994 President Clinton enacted Public Law 103-160, Title 10 U.S.C. Section 654 governing the policy concerning homosexuality in the armed forces. This policy has been commonly referred to as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) since its inception.

Basically, DADT prevents the military from asking ("don't ask") if an applicant or service member is homosexual; additionally, the applicant or service member must refrain from revealing ("don't tell") his or her homosexual orientation. These regulations further forbid service members from engaging in activities that are regarded as being homosexual in nature[1]. Any evidence showing a violation of the regulation is considered grounds for separation from active-duty service. Department of Defense (DoD) policy states:

> Sexual orientation will not be a bar to service unless manifested by homosexual conduct. The military will discharge members who engage in homosexual conduct, which is defined as a homosexual act, a statement that the member is homosexual or bisexual, or a marriage or attempted marriage to someone of the same gender.[2]

Heated debate preceded enactment of DADT, and the debate has never really diminished. Indeed, many of the same arguments and issues that led to the policy were still being hashed out fifteen years later.

During the early twenty-first century, the demand for skilled personnel clashed with DADT, when it became evident that otherwise qualified men and women were being discharged from the military solely because of their homosexual orientation. To many observers, DADT had become "OBE" in the jargon of the day—that is, "overcome by the

[1] US Code, Title 10 U.S.C Section 654 (f) defines homosexual acts.

[2] "The Pentagon's New Policy Guidelines on Homosexuals in the Military," *The New York Times (July 20, 1993).*

events" of the war on terrorism. Often, those being discharged had received outstanding evaluations for their job performance and leadership traits, only to be cast out under DADT.

In February 2007, Congressman Martin T. Meehan (Democrat, Massachusetts) initiated legislation for the second time that would repeal DADT. Representative Meehan introduced H.R. 1246, Military Readiness Act of 2007, which would attempt to modify Title 10 under US Code ("Don't Ask, Don't Tell"), with a policy prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation. The bill had 122 co-sponsors, but never advanced from the House of Representatives, largely because of dissenting views divided across political party lines.

If DADT were repealed, legislation would also provide service members who were discharged under the policy to be reinstated.[3] Meehan's claim for pursuing the repeal was threefold: the current policy detracts from manning the military appropriately; the civil rights were of those who were separated were being violated; and the cost of discharging service members was unduly expensive.

Rep. Meehan also argued that the financial costs of DADT, as reported in a February 2005 study by the Government Accountability Office (GAO), were grossly underestimated.[4] The results of the study found that the federal government spent $190 million to train nearly 10,000 homosexual service members, and then to train replacements for the 10,000 who were discharged because of their sexual orientation. The study also found that the actual financial expenses could not be estimated because the military did not gather fiscal data for each member being separated under the DADT from 1994 to 2003.[5] A "blue ribbon commission" was later formed through the University of California at Santa Barbara to evaluate the methods employed by GAO and

[3] Danny Lauridsen**,** 'Meehan Tries to Repeal 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' Boston University Washington News Service, February 27, 2007.

[4] GAO 05-299, Financial Costs and Loss of Critical Skills Due to DoD's Homosexual Conduct Policy Cannot Be Completely Estimated, February 2005.

[5] Ibid.

to reevaluate the financial costs. The commission's final report, published just a year later, concluded that the actual cost of DADT was $363.8 million, nearly double the amount estimated by GAO.[6]

The change of presidential administration and balance of power in Congress may well signal the end of DADT. An interview conducted by the New York Daily News in April 2008 quotes then President-Elect Barack Obama as saying, "I will end Don't Ask, Don't Tell." During the interview Obama also stated:

> What I want are members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who are making decisions based on what strengthens our military and what is going to make us safer, not ideology. There's increasing recognition within the armed forces that this is a counterproductive strategy—you know, we're spending large sums of money to kick highly qualified gays or lesbians out of our military, some of whom possess specialties like Arab-language capabilities that we desperately need. That doesn't make us more safe.[7]

Would the removal of DADT ultimately benefit the military's goal of recruiting and retaining the most qualified volunteers for military service? Military leaders freely acknowledge that the arduous duty of active and reserve units deploying on multiple tours in Iraq, Afghanistan, Cuba, and Africa to fight the global war on terrorism has put a strain on military personnel, especially those with key skills. No one has denied that an important consideration in evaluating DADT should be its effect on the military's "holy trinity" of morale, good order, and discipline. One way to approach studying the issue is by looking at the attitudes of service members and the civilian population that supports the All-Volunteer Force.

B. THESIS OBJECTIVE

The principal objective of this thesis is to measure the attitudes of Navy and Marine Corps officers toward homosexuals in 2004 and to compare the data with results from three previous surveys conducted at NPS (in 1994, 1996, and 1999). This comparison is expected to reveal if the views of Naval officers toward homosexuality,

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[6] Aaron Belkin et al., Blue Ribbon Commission Report, Financial Analysis of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell": How much does the gay ban cost? February 2006.

[7] Michael Saul, "Obama: I'll end Don't Ask, Don't Tell," *New York Daily News*, April 11, 2008.

specifically toward individuals serving in the military, have changed. The secondary objective of the study is to compare Marine Corps officer attitudes from the 2004 survey with results from the 1999 survey regarding trends and possible changes in the views of these officers over the intervening period including any differences between the attitudes of officers in the Marines and those in the Navy. Additionally, the study seeks to measure and compare any differences in attitudes based on the demographic characteristics of officers.

C. THESIS OUTLINE

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter II reviews selected research, events, and policies that relate to DADT. Chapter III describes in some detail the methodology used in this study. Chapter IV provides the results of the survey conducted in 2004 and a comparison of these data with the results of the previous surveys. Finally, Chapter V presents a summary of the thesis, conclusions, and recommendations. The appendices contain supporting documentation.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. RECENT STUDIES RELATED TO "DON'T ASK, DON'T TELL"

1. Flag Officer Study

In 2008 four retired flag-level officers, representing the four major branches of the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps), conducted a study to determine the effectiveness of the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) policy implemented fifteen years earlier. The premise behind the study was that military policy, regulations, and instructions were intended to promote readiness within all realms of military operations. It was felt that a review of these areas should occur periodically to determine if they continue to meet their objectives, given changes in military culture and national security requirements.

Support for a commission of flag officers to study DADT came from a number of sources, including a highly respected military sociologist, Charles Moskos, who is credited with coining the term, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." According to Moskos, this type of study would need to take a nonpartisan approach toward reviewing and analyzing evidence from various angles. One such method would be a commission comprised of persons who are unquestionably pro-military, having a solid reputation as, say, military leaders with the acumen to discern how homosexuality might affect the operations and unit cohesion of the modern-day military.

The goal of the flag-officer commission was three-fold. First, the commission set out to review DADT and compare it with Title 10, US Code 654 to determine if the doctrine established in 1993 was still suitable for best representing the military. Second, the commission wanted to provide military insight as to how DADT regulations have affected the military. And, third, the commission sought to recommend any action regarding DADT that they felt should be taken by the military or lawmakers.

During the two-month study, the commission gathered data through testimony from persons with authority over the policy, various stakeholders (including discharged

service members), both U.S. and foreign military leaders, and military psychologists. The collected information was then compared with the legislative history of the DADT policy and relevant regulations found within the Uniformed Code of Military Justice (UCMJ). The results were then shared with active duty operational commanders who had used all of the regulations, policies, and laws both while serving in combat zones, such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and throughout other commands worldwide.[8]

After the commission completed its data collection and review of literature (policies, regulations, and laws), ten findings and four recommendations were delivered. Within the findings, there was an overwhelming sentiment by the commission that DADT is currently an ineffective policy. The main reasons for its ineffectiveness were felt to include noncompliance by individual service members and military leaders and inconsistent enforcement of the policy itself. Of the ten findings presented, the following best capture the spirit of the study and the reasoning behind a call to repeal DADT:

Finding One: *The law locks the military's position into stasis.*

For a policy to work properly, it must be flexible enough to meet the needs of military commanders, who use it as a tool to achieve good order and discipline, and for the policy itself to adapt to the changing culture. Service members who were interviewed for the study acknowledged that attitudes of military personnel have changed since the inception of DADT. Only 20 percent of members on active duty at the time of the study were serving when the DADT was enacted.[9] It was recommended that the policy would be better utilized if Congress would delegate the authority to the Department of Defense, which would be more suited to regulate and manage military personnel.

Finding Two*: Existing military laws and regulations provide commanders with sufficient means to discipline inappropriate conduct*

Regulations currently exist within the military—branch-specific regulations as well as the Uniform Code of Military Justice—that govern military personnel throughout the Department of Defense. For example, Article 125 (Sodomy) under the UCMJ states: "Any person subject to this chapter who engages in unnatural carnal copulation with

[8] University of California at Santa Barbara, Palm Center, Report of the General /Flag Officers' Study Group, September 2008.

[9] Ibid.

another person of the same or opposite sex or with an animal is guilty of sodomy. Penetration, however slight, is sufficient to complete the offense."[10] Although this article applies to both heterosexual and homosexual individuals, it is commonly used to punish homosexual behavior. Under the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), enacted in 1996, legislation states: "The Federal Government may not treat same-sex relationships as marriages for any purpose, even if concluded or recognized by one of the states."[11] Both laws provide ample guidance on how military leaders should deal with conduct considered inappropriate.

Finding Three: *"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" has forced some commanders to choose between breaking the law and undermining the cohesion of their units*

The study group found that many officers were challenged by properly following DADT or shunning certain provisions of the policy out of a need to maintain or enhance their unit's performance. Examples were provided by military leaders who were unwilling to follow procedures to initiate an investigation that would bring charges against person in their command. For instance, an officer who was interviewed stated that he had decided to not take action against a person in his unit because of the service member's qualifications and importance to the unit.

Finding Four: *"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" has caused the military to lose some talented service members*

The quality of personnel can often substitute for the quantity of personnel in specific jobs in the military. That is, having an overabundance of personnel may not necessarily be more advantageous than having a smaller, more qualified and highly motivated cadre of people. In the present environment, the military is struggling to recruit and retain highly skilled technicians; however, it is also obligated under DADT to ignore a person's skills or attributes and release people who may be highly qualified and otherwise desperately needed but are found to be homosexual.

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[10] Uniform Code of Military Instruction, Article 125. Sodomy. Provides the definition and descriptive text relating to the behavior, procedures for charging, and punishment for violating Article 125.

[11] Defense of Marriage Act. Public Law No. 104-199, 110 Stat. 2419. Its provisions are codified at 1 U.S.C. § 7 and 28 U.S.C. § 1738C.

A General Accounting Office report identified numerous people with "mission critical" jobs who were discharged from the military under DADT. The Intelligence Analysts community, for example, has lost over 250 personnel; and more than 300 linguists, of which 58 were qualified to speak Arabic on a tactical level, have also been discharged under DADT.[12] At the same time, in 2007, the Army nearly doubled the number of recruits accepted for service with a moral waiver, as it widened the recruiting net to support the war in Iraq. Enlistees have been given waivers for convictions of sexual offenses (nine of which were registered sex offenders), indecent behavior with a child, terrorist threats, assault, theft, arson, and use of drugs other than marijuana.[13] In 2007, 511 moral waivers for felony convictions were issued to recruits serving in the Army, up from 249 during the previous year.[14]

Finding Five: *"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" has compelled some gay, lesbian, and bisexual service members to lie about their identity.*

The study found that many homosexual service members lied about their sexual orientation because they were knowingly in violation of DADT, which posed the risk of them being discharged from the military. Thus, DADT "encouraged" homosexual service members to develop false identities and become dishonest in their day-to-day life, causing isolation among their peers off duty, as well as a loss of integrity and self-esteem while attempting to preserve their military career. The need to maintain secrecy and hide one's homosexual orientation also forced some to avoid receiving psychological and medical care as well as religious counseling. Consequently, the fear of being "found out" could overwhelm the need for medical, psychological, or spiritual assistance.

The study found a lack of confidentiality within the medical, psychological, and chaplain corps on two levels. On the individual level, many homosexual service members were reluctant to use these services, believing that they could be investigated and discharged for admitting to homosexual activity that played a role in their lives. Typical failing relationships that would warrant the use of a chaplain for counseling would be

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[12] Flag Officer Study, 8.

[13] Elana Schor, British Guradian, US Army Increases Use of Moral Waivers to Meet Demand for Troops, April 21, 2008. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/apr/21/usa1

[14] Ibid.

forgone because of an individual being in a gay relationship. Those suffering from a mental disorder or developing depression because of a homosexual relationship would be hesitant to seek assistance. If services were used, it was difficult for a chaplain or a psychiatrist to identify the true source of the individual's predicament as their homosexual orientation most likely was a contributing factor or was the root of the service member's condition or circumstance.

The second level concerned the ethical and professional dilemma presented to chaplains and medical professionals obligated to uphold the confidentiality of service members who are under their care. Many military leaders directed clergy, doctors, and psychologists to report the sexual orientation of service members if they revealed that they were homosexual. This would violate the service member's right for private medical information to remain confidential for their particular circumstance under the patient's privacy act.[15] However, some military leaders insisted that this form of behavior should not go unreported within the unit because it could eventually damage cohesion.

A study conducted by a task force of the American Psychological Association (APA) in 2004, entitled *Report of the Task Force on Sexual Orientation and Military Service*, identified common issues or concerns in the military that were considered as predominately negative toward service members who exhibited homosexual tendencies. The concerns included: confidentiality for service members seeking treatment in mental health facilities; training given to military members and psychologists who provide care; and the policies related to homosexuality that govern military service members as a whole.[16]

The task force offered recommendations to APA that would remedy their concerns of confidentiality and the treatment of homosexuals serving in the military. These recommendations warranted the APA to evaluate any sponsorship that promotes or enables discrimination based on sexual orientation and to implement action to have any of this support removed. The task force also called for a data collection from all military

[15] The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) of 1996 Privacy Rule.

[16] American Psychological Association, *Report of the Task Force on Sexual Orientation and Military Service*, January 16-18, 2004.

psychologists providing mental health care to service members to determine how the current policies affect the ethics and practice of mental health providers. Additionally, the task force recommended developing educational programs to assist in providing information on the limitations of confidentiality to service members by their providers, identifying the types of services that could be provided to members, and creating materials that would enhance the methods psychologists can use.[17]

2. Flag Officers' Opinions on Homosexuals

In November 2008, a committee of over 100 flag-level officers from the United States and Australian forces called for the repeal of DADT. The committee estimated that nearly 65,000 homosexuals were serving in the U.S. military and that another 1 million homosexual veterans were back in the civilian population. It was also pointed out that, since the inception of the policy, more than 12 thousand service members had been discharged because of their sexual orientation.[18]

Admiral Charles Larson, a member of the committee, observed that he was a supporter of keeping the ban on homosexuals entering and serving in the military prior to the policy change in 1993. After discovering that zealous efforts by individuals and units to discharge homosexuals were prevalent within the Navy, causing qualified personnel to be separated, Admiral Larson's views concerning the ban changed in support of an alternate policy. According to Larson, his change of opinion was also influenced by his experience of having homosexuals serving on his staff while he was on active duty and having a child who was a homosexual.[19]

Admiral Larson's position on eliminating DADT stipulated that necessary steps would need to be taken through systematic cultural change and education within the military over a period of time.

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[17] American Psychological Association, *Report of the Task Force on Sexual Orientation and Military Service*, January 16-18, 2004, 2.

[18] Witte, Brian, Associated Press, "Admirals, Generals: Repeal Don't Ask, Don't Tell," November 2008.

[19] Frank, Nathaniel, University of California, Santa Barbara, The Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities (CSSM), 104 Generals and Admirals: Gay Ban Must End, November 2008.

General John Shalikashvili, Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, felt that a repeal of the ban would not cause the typical problems argued by pro-ban military leaders. As General Shalikashvili observed, lifting the ban in other nations, such as Great Britain and Israel, did not result in any observable detriment to function, cohesion, or performance.[20]

B. FOREIGN MILITARIES

1. Canadian Military

Prior to 1988, the Canadian military prohibited homosexuals from serving in military forces, as outlined in the Canadian Forces Administrative Order 19-20 (CFAO 19-20). Military leaders concluded that homosexual orientation would compromise military operations by degrading "cohesion, discipline, fitness, morale, leadership, recruiting, medical, and the rights to privacy of other members." [21]

In 1988, the Canadian government loosened the ban on homosexuals serving in the military, eliminating the requirement for reporting homosexual behavior witnessed and easing the enforcement of the policy for gays and lesbians serving.

Easing the ban was seen as the first step in bringing equality to the Canadian military, but it did not completely alleviate the discrimination identified in Canada's Human Rights Act of 1978. Homosexuals who were known to be serving in the military continued to receive derogatory treatment. The Canadian Department of Defense remained adamant that allowing homosexuals to serve openly would disrupt unit cohesion and cause a decline in moral, and that operational effectiveness would be degraded. A survey of 6,500 service men in 1985 showed that 62 percent were unwilling to share berthing areas, hygiene spaces, or change clothing in the presence of a known homosexual; 45 percent were unwilling to work or train with homosexuals.[22]

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[20] Frank, Nathaniel, University of California, Santa Barbara, The Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities (CSSM), 104 Generals and Admirals: Gay Ban Must End, November 2008.

[21] Aaron Belkin and Jason McNichol, University of California, Santa Barbara, The Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities (CSSM), *Report on Effects of the 1992 Lifting of Restrictions on Gay and Lesbian Service in the Canadian Forces: Appraising the Evidence*, April 18, 2008.

[22] Ibid., 19.

Canada's homosexual policy, which nearly mirrored that of the United States' homosexual ban prior to DADT was repealed in 1992. The Canadian Forces Administration Order (CFAO) 19-20 and all supporting provisional policies were revoked due to cultural change and pressure from the Canadian Human Rights Court that stated the policy was unconstitutional and that all Canadian citizens shall be treated equally.[23] That same year, a new order (CFAO 19-36) was issued governing sexual misconduct for all personnel. This order provided Canadian military leaders and service members with a detailed policy of what was considered unsuitable sexual conduct for both homosexual and heterosexual.[24]

A review of the policy and its effect on the Canadian Defence Force indicates that allowing homosexuals to serve openly has not impaired unit performance. Further, no evidence has been found that the change of policy has degraded unit cohesion or adversely affected good order and discipline.

2. Australian Military

As with the Canadian Defense Force, the Australian Defence Force also maintained a similar ban on homosexuals serving in the military. However, military protocol leaned more on civilian statutes to remove the homosexual population in the military because the Australian Defense Force did not have a formal policy to prohibit homosexuals from serving. Military commanders were given the power to pursue discharging homosexuals, as this behavior fell under civilian laws that prohibited sodomy. Military protocol regarding homosexuality was widely inconsistent due to the decision to separate a service member believed to be homosexual at the level of a unit commander. Many unit commanders seemed to ignore the policy, while others were fervent in upholding the ban.[25]

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[23] Aaron Belkin and Jason McNichol, University of California, Santa Barbara, The Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities (CSSM), *Report on Effects of the 1992 Lifting of Restrictions on Gay and Lesbian Service in the Canadian Forces: Appraising the Evidence,* April 18, 2008, 20.

[24] Ibid., 23.

[25] Nathaniel Frank, *Unfriendly Fire: How the Gay Ban Undermines the Military and Weakens America*, 139, 2009.

With continuing cultural changes and views world-wide, the laws used by military commanders to discharge homosexuals from the armed forces were being rescinded, and the country's human rights laws were being amended to match those of international agreements. Unable to rely on civilian statutes, the Australian Defense Force issued a military order to ban homosexuals in 1986.

Soon after the order to ban homosexuality within the military, defense leaders were pressured to eliminate the ban to address a shortfall in recruiting, retention, and the force-shaping of the Australian military with respect to overall personnel and minority representation. The last factor included women, persons of different races and ethnicities, and suggestively, homosexuals.[26] In response to the shortfall in personnel and allegations that the Australian Defence Force was not recruiting minorities at an appropriate level, the Australian government commissioned a study of the personnel complement of the Defense force.[27]

The government study recommended immediately withdrawing the ban on homosexuals serving in the military. Much debate ensued between the Defense Minister and the Heads of each service, claiming it degraded operational effectiveness, unit cohesion and the like.

Both the Attorney General and the Health Minister rebutted, asserting it was a violation of the International Human Rights Accord that was recently declared as doctrine by Australia by being prejudicial against sexual orientation. Also, the ban would not afford the most opportunistic approach to gaining the most qualified recruits and officers to serve. Finally, allowing homosexuals, otherwise serving silently in the military, to seek medical services would be more beneficial in controlling efforts to minimize sexually-transmitted diseases such as AIDS[28].

Negative reactions over a lifting of the ban were strong in parts of the defense establishment, but they diminished after the initial outcry. Removal of the ban in

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[26] Frank, *Unfriendly Fire*, 139.

[27] Aaron Belkin and Jason McNichol, University of California, Santa Barbara, The Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities (CSSM), *Report on Effects of the including Gay and Lesbian Soldiers in the Australian Defence Forces: Appraising the Evidence*, 8, September 19, 2008.

[28] Ibid., 13.

Australia did not result in disruptions or a mass exodus of heterosexual service members, as some had predicted. In addition, the recruiting and retaining of military personnel remained similar to what they were prior to eliminating the homosexual ban.

C. SELECTED POLLS CONCERNING HOMOSEXUALS IN THE MILITARY

1. Harris Interactive

Harris Interactive conducted a study in 2000 during the Bush-Gore Presidential election to capture the opinions of the public regarding DADT. Responses were collected through an Internet survey, gathering nearly 11,000 participants. Demographics collected for the survey were simple, including only gender, age, race, educational level, and political party preference.

The poll provided useful information on the differing opinions of specific groups within the population. Data on differences by gender, race, and political party were provided within the report, which seems to focus primarily on issues related to the then-ongoing Presidential campaigns.

Briefly, the report indicates that 34 percent of all respondents supported DADT at the time of the survey, while 46 percent opposed it. It is interesting to observe here that those who supported DADT were relatively strong in their view: 35 percent of these supporters of DADT actually preferred to see an even more restrictive policy, completely banning all homosexuals from serving in the military. When considering political party affiliation, it was found that about one-third (32 percent) of Republicans favored allowing homosexuals to serve openly in the military. This compares with 61 percent of Democrats and 48 percent of Independents who felt that homosexuals should be allowed to serve openly.[29]

The analysts at Harris Interactive tried to put the results in perspective by asking: "So, what does this mean for the military, the presidential contenders, and the parties?" They answered as follows:

[29] Harris Interactive, THE HARRIS POLL ELECTION 2000. A CALL TO ATTENTION ON GAYS IN THE MILITARY: Is It Time to Revise "Don't Ask, Don't Tell?" February 2000.

> First, it means the presidential candidates and the parties must build party platforms that consider the varied opinions of their members. Second, it means that any future policy must recognize the fact that society has changed over the past decade in its attitude towards gays and as a result the country is more supportive of gays serving in the military. Third, the military must also weigh the impact of its policy on its members and future recruits. Thus, developing a new policy on gays in the military will be a difficult balancing act for everyone involved.[30]

2. Zogby International

Zogby International conducted a survey in February 2006 to determine the size and characteristics of the homosexual population serving in the military, the opinions of military members, and what impact homosexuals may have on the military. The survey was administered to 545 military personnel serving in Afghanistan and Iraq.

A little over one-third (37 percent) of the survey respondents the survey felt that homosexuals should not be allowed to serve openly in the military, while 26 percent believed that it would be an acceptable alternative to the current policy.[31]

When asked how the presence of homosexuals would impact the morale of the unit in which they were currently serving, 28 percent of respondents felt that it would have a negative impact on a personal level, and 27 percent felt it would adversely affect morale on a unit level.[32] These are relatively significant numbers, but a clear minority of opinion on the adverse effects of removing DADT.

Respondents were asked how comfortable they were on a personal level in the presence of homosexuals. Nearly three in four, 73 percent of respondents, stated they were somewhat or very comfortable in the presence of homosexuals.[33]

The poll by Zogby International sought to shed light on continuing questions regarding the impact of DADT on the military. As observed elsewhere, a number of

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[30] Harris Interactive Poll, 3.

[31] Sam Rogers, *Opinions of Military Personnel on Gays in the Military*, Zogby International, December 2006, 14.

[32] Ibid., 18.

[33] Ibid., 20.

arguments have been presented over the years that allowing homosexuals to serve openly in the military would undermine the military's effectiveness.[34] Perhaps the most informative time to investigate the impact of DADT would be during a time of conflict, when the military's performance is critical to achieving success and service members are asked to put their lives at risk. This opportunity was afforded by the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. The results of the poll by Zogby thus add an important and added dimension to evaluating the policy.

3. National Annenberg Election Survey

The University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg Public Policy Center conducts a survey during each presidential election. In 2004, the National Annenberg Election Survey collected data through telephone interviews on various military-related topics. Of these topics, one question was: "Should gays and lesbians be allowed to serve openly in the military, or shouldn't they be allowed to serve openly?" Respondents from various parts of the entire military community participated in the survey, including persons from active and reserve components, those at different levels of service within the enlisted and commissioned-officer ranks, as well as civilian family members.

The survey results indicated that 42 percent of service members in active or reserve status felt homosexuals should be allowed to serve openly in the military, while 50 percent felt otherwise. Interestingly, and in contrast to these findings, 67 percent of civilian family members believed that homosexuals should be allowed to serve openly, while 27 percent of family members supported continuation of the current policy.[35]

Among commissioned officers and family members, 39 percent believed homosexuals should be able to serve openly, and the predominant reason (37 percent of respondents) was that "sexual orientation is not related to job performance." At the same

[34] Rogers, *Opinions of Military Personnel,* 24.

[35] National Annenberg Elections Survey http://www.annenbergpublicpolicycenter.org/Downloads/Political_Communication/naes/2004_03_2military-data_10-16_pr.pdf, October 16, 2004, 8.

time, of those who felt homosexuals should be allowed to serve openly, 29 percent of respondents gave the main reason as being a matter of equal rights.[36]

Thirty-five percent of non-commissioned-officer respondents stated that homosexuals should be allowed to serve openly in the military. Their main reasons for this view were similar to those of the commissioned officers: 42 percent felt that it was a question of equal rights, and 29 percent felt that sexual orientation is unrelated to job performance.[37]

A higher proportion of (50 percent) of junior enlisted personnel and their families felt that homosexuals should be allowed to serve openly in the military, again largely based on the same reasons given by commissioned officers and non-commissioned officers. Approximately 39 percent of these junior enlisted respondents felt that homosexuals should have equal rights to serve in the military openly, and 36 percent felt that sexual orientation was unrelated to job performance.[38]

D. CONCLUSION

It is clear from this summary of recent studies and commission reports, the experiences of three foreign militaries, and the results of selected polls that a significant shift in attitudes has occurred since DADT was introduced in 1993. Much has been learned about the effectiveness of DADT over the intervening years, amid many changes in the military and society. Indeed, some of the U.S. military's younger recruits during 2009 may have still been in diapers when DADT was enacted. Younger members of the military are of a separate generation than those who joined during the early 1990s.

The present study seeks to further explore changes in attitudes and trends among students over the same period at one particular institution, the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) in Monterey, California. These students are also military officers, selected to attend NPS because they are among the military's most promising leaders for both the

[36] National Annenberg Elections Survey.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

present and the future. Some will rise to the highest levels of authority in their service. What better population to examine for a case study of changing attitudes toward one of the most controversial policies of our time?

III. METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methods used in analyzing the attitudes of Naval Postgraduate School students toward "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) and the prospect of having homosexuals serve openly in the U.S. military. The discussion of methodology is divided into three sections: development of the survey from its original form in 1994 and in later applications; response rates; and demographics. The study deliberately reproduces the data collection techniques used in the previous three NPS studies to maintain continuity between the surveys and to ensure that trends can be accurately recorded and examined. [39]

The present study also seeks to compare the attitudes of Marine Corps Officers with those of Navy Officers, and to evaluate differences in trends between officers in the two separate services. Data points from the survey conducted in 2000 will be used as a basis for comparing the two services, given that it is the first survey at NPS that included Marine Corps officers.[40]

A. SURVEY INSTRUMENT

A 57-question survey was used to determine the attitudes held by Navy and Marine Corps officers at NPS toward homosexuals under DADT. The survey used in this research was originally designed and administered by Mark Cleveland and Fred Ohl[41] in 1994. Cleveland and Ohl were primarily interested in studying whether U.S, Navy officers completely understood the provisions of the new policy on homosexuals, since these officers would be the new "gatekeepers" under DADT. The second survey, conducted by Margaret Friery about two years later, added seven items to the original

[39] Fred Cleveland and Mark Ohl, " Don't Ask, Don't Tell"- Policy Analysis and Interpretation"; Friery, "Trends in Navy Officer Attitudes Towards DADT"; Bicknell, "Study of Naval officers' Attitudes Towards Homosexuals in The Military."

[40] Bicknell, "Study of Naval officers' Attitudes Towards Homosexuals in The Military."

[41] Cleveland and Ohl, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell"- Policy Analysis and Interpretation.

survey designed by Cleveland and Ohl.[42] The third administration of the survey for Navy officers, by John Bicknell in 1999, followed the exact design used by Friery.

The survey used in the present study contained 48 questions on attitudes toward homosexuals in the military; one item pertained to the privacy of the respondents of the survey, and another item enabled respondents to provide comments concerning the policy or survey. Three questions that pertained to recent events concerning homosexual relationships and benefits were also added to the survey.[43] Seven questions related to the demographic characteristics of the respondents.[44]

Results of the current survey were compared with those of the previous three surveys to determine if changes in officer attitudes at NPS have occurred since DADT was implemented roughly 11 years before the survey. Appendix A provides further detail regarding the survey design, protocols, and response frequencies.

The survey was administered using Zoomerang[tm], an online survey research tool. This survey administration process was different than the method used in the previous three surveys. The previous studies employed hardcopy surveys, Scantron-type answer sheets, and explanatory letters, all distributed to the student body through the NPS mailroom. In previous studies, too, answer sheets were collected using special boxes and collection points throughout the campus. The online tool used in the present study allowed students to simply click a hyperlink within an email that was received. This link took the prospective respondent directly to the instruction page of the online survey. The study and all related materials were evaluated and approved by the NPS Institutional Review Board (IRB).

The survey was distributed through NPS electronic mail, where an electronic mail distribution list was created from the records of Navy and Marine Corps students provided by the NPS Registrar's Office. The list contained a total of 883 students, including 753 Navy students, and 130 Marine Corps students. A one-week window was

[42] Bicknell, "Study of Naval officers' Attitudes Towards Homosexuals in The Military," 32.

[43] Questions 45, 46, 47.

[44] Questions 50-56.

given for students to complete the survey at their convenience. The timeframe of 29 November through 6 December 2004 was used to conduct the survey.

On 29 November, the survey was distributed via email to all 883 students. It provided an introduction that stated the purpose of the survey, the period the surveywould be left open to complete, and a hyperlink directly to the Zoomerang[tm] survey instrument. The initial email is shown in Appendix B.

On 2 December, a reminder was sent via email to the students, requesting and reminding them to complete the survey initially distributed on 29 November[45]. At the close of the survey window on 6 December, 490 surveys were completed (437 fully completed, 53 partially completed). The response rate for this survey was 55 percent for all respondents and 49 percent for respondents who completed the survey in its entirety. A total of 334 Navy officers completed a survey, and 102 Marine Corps officers did the same. The responses were calculated by the Zoomerang[tm] survey protocol. Of the 436 officers who completed the survey, 140 written comments were also submitted.

Table 1 shows the number of responses received during the week-long period the survey was available to complete. As seen here, a spike in responses occurred on 2 December. This likely reflects the reaction to an email reminding students that the period for completing the survey was at its midpoint.

Table 1. NPS Student Response Frequencies to 2004 DADT Survey

Date	29-Nov	30-Nov	1-Dec	2-Dec	3-Dec	4-Dec	5-Dec	6-Dec
Responses	278	47	15	75	16	2	0	0

[45] Email was sent reminding students to complete survey closure is found in Appendix B.

B. BACKGROUND STATISTICS

1. Survey Respondents

The response rate for the 2004 survey was slightly higher for Navy personnel (38 percent) than achieved in the 1999 study, and it was approximately the same as that achieved in 1996. The 2004 Marine Corps response rate was considerably higher (76 percent) than in the 1999 survey (40 percent), the only other survey to include Marine Corps officers. Overall, the response rate for the 2004 study (55 percent) was considerably higher than in 1996 (38 percent) and in 1999 (34 percent). As previously noted, a total of 140 written comments were submitted by students on the 2004 survey. This was interpreted as a relatively strong reaction to the subject of the survey, given the number of written comments submitted on previous surveys. However, most of the comments pertained to the design of the survey or were determined to be irrelevant to the study itself. Of the 140 comments submitted, only 16 related directly to the purpose of the research.

Table 2 compares the survey response rates achieved by the four surveys. Also shown is the number of comments submitted by respondents to each of the surveys.

Table 2. Survey Response Rates and Number of Comments Submitted: 1994, 1996, 1999, and 2004

Sample	1994 [a]		1996 [b]		1999 [c]		2004 (current)	
	Response Rate (%)	Comments	Response Rate (%)	Comments	Response Rate (%)	Comments	Response Rate (%)	Comments
Combined	60%		38%		34%		55%	
Navy	60%	8	38%	33	35%	26	38%	140
USMC	n/a		n/a		40%		76%	

[a] Source: Fred Cleveland and Mark Ohl, "'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' - Policy Analysis and Interpretation," (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 1994), 86-89.

[b] Source: Margaret R. Friery, "Trends in Navy Officer Attitudes Toward the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' Policy," (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 1997), 29.

[c] Source: John W. Bicknell, "Study of Naval Officers' Attitudes Toward Homosexuals in the Military" (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2000), 71-77.

2. Demographic Characteristics

The 2004 survey asked the respondents several questions regarding their background characteristics. The results are presented in Appendix A, "Demographic Survey Response Frequencies." The following background information was collected: time-in-service (question 50); gender (question 51); race/ethnicity (question 52); service, Navy or Marine Corps (question 53); Navy community designator, if applicable (question 54); Marine Corps community designator, if applicable (question 55); and pay grade (question 56).

The demographic frequencies obtained through the survey were compared with similar information on NPS students in the target populations. The information on students was provided through the NPS Registrar's Office. The comparison of frequencies from the survey with data on the NPS student population in 2004 shows that the sample is approximately representative of the target population on the basis gender, race/ethnicity, and service. Accurate information on the community designators of NPS students and their pay grades was not available. Nevertheless, the distribution of these characteristics among the survey respondents seems reasonable.

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IV. RESULTS

A majority of the Navy and Marine Corps officers who responded to the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) survey do not want homosexuals to serve openly in the military. At the same time, the 2004 results suggest that tolerance toward homosexuals is increasing and support for DADT is declining. For example, in 1994, 82.2 percent of survey respondents stated that they did not want to have homosexuals serving in their command. Ten years later, 54.5 percent of officers made the same claim. This amounts to a drop of nearly 28 percentage points.[46]

This discussion of results from the 2004 survey looks closely at the three previous studies that utilized the same survey—that is, the 1994 study by LCDR Fred Cleveland and LT Mark Ohl, the 1996-1997 study by LCDR Margaret Friery,[47] and the 1999-2000 study by Major John Bicknell (USMC).[48] Other surveys by various research organizations, such as Gallup and Harris, are also referenced in the comparison of results.

The first section of the chapter compares data from the four surveys of NPS students with information on the attitudes of the U.S. general population. The second section looks more closely at the four NPS studies using six categories or themes: policy, cohesion, leadership, tolerance, off-duty activity, and homosexual civilian relations. The third section of the chapter compares the attitudes of officers in the Navy with those of their counterparts in the Marine Corps. Since the study by Bicknell included the first and only previous survey of Marine Corps officers, the fourth section of the chapter limits the comparison of attitudes among Marines to the surveys conducted in 1999 and 2004.

A. NAVAL OFFICERS VERSUS SOCIETY: A COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARD HOMOSEXUALS SERVING IN THE MILITARY

Numerous polls have been conducted on the topic of homosexuals serving in the military since the presidential campaign of 1992, when candidate Bill Clinton raised the

[46] Appendix A, Question 3.

[47] Friery, "Trends in Navy Officer Attitudes Toward the Don't Ask, Don't Tell' Policy."

[48] Bicknell, "Study of Navy Officers' Attitudes Toward Homosexuals in the Military."

prospect of removing the military's ban on homosexuals.[49] For example, in July 1993, a joint NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll was conducted asking, "Do you favor or oppose allowing openly gay men and lesbian women to serve in the military?" The results showed that 40 percent of respondents supported allowing homosexuals to serve openly. A full decade later, in November 2004, a joint CNN/*USA Today* poll was taken, asking the same question. The results indicated that support for allowing homosexuals to serve openly had risen to 63 percent.[50] These surveys represent only two "data points" among the many polls conducted over the period. All of these many polls, taken together, merely confirm that a shift in public opinion has occurred toward lifting the military's ban on homosexuals.

Table 3 compares the responses of the four NPS surveys on the question of whether homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the armed forces. Also shown in Table 5 are the responses to a similar question posed in a Gallup poll during the same years (which are approximate in two cases). As seen here, the trend of increasing acceptance is remarkably similar for the general and Navy officers. Indeed, in each of the four years compared, the proportions rise similarly for both "society" and the Navy, with levels of acceptance *remaining* at about 30 percentage points higher in "society" than in the Navy. The finding of a continuing difference of about 30 percentage points is quite remarkable. Also remarkable is the difference itself, which in 2003/2004 found acceptance in society at 80 percent, compared with the Navy, at about 50 percent. It should also be noted that acceptance level among the Marine Corps officers who were surveyed fell from less than 18 percent to under 12 percent, which was 68 percentage points below the acceptance level in society during 2003/2004.

[49] Heather Mason, "Gays in Military: Public Says Go Ahead and Tell," Gallup Organization, December 21, 2004.

[50] Ibid., 1.

Table 3. Percentage of individuals who feel homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the Armed Services. Society vs. Navy/USMC Opinion 1992-2004.

Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each on the following occupations….The Armed Forces? [a]			
Question 27. Homosexuals should not be restricted from serving anywhere in the Navy [b].			
Year	**Society** [a]	**Navy** [b]	**Marines** [b]
1992/1994	57%	24.6%	•
1996	65%	35.8%	•
1999	70%	39.2%	17.8%
2003/2004	**80%**	**49.7%**	**11.7%**

[a] David W. Moore, "Modest Rebound in Public Acceptance Of Homosexuals, Public Remains Divided on cause of Homosexuality" Gallup Organization, [http://www.gallup.com/poll/content/print.aspx?ci=10240], 20 May 2004.

b Percentage found in Appendix A. Percentages for years 1992 reflect 1994 Navy and USMC results and 2003 reflect 2004 Navy and USMC results.

In recent years, the issue of same-sex marriage has brought heated debate by religious and political leaders, while related cases have reached state supreme courts and become referenda in state elections. Table 4 compares the opinions of naval officers with those of society on the issue of same-sex marriage. As seen previously, in Table 3, society is very accepting of having homosexuals serve in the military. The vast majority of Americans state that homosexuals should have the same rights as heterosexuals with respect to serving in the military. Does that same level of acceptance exist when it comes to marriage?

On the issue of marriage, as Table 4 shows, just fewer than half (49 percent) of respondents in the general population believe that homosexuals should be allowed to "legally form civil unions" and have "some of the legal rights of married couple." The level of acceptance increased somewhat between 2000 and 2004. In fact, until 2000, surveys addressing same-sex marriage consistently showed 66 percent of respondents opposing homosexual unions[51]. The acceptance level for Navy and Marine Corps officers, who normally respond more conservatively than does the general public on such

[51] James Ricci and Patricia Ward Biederman, "Acceptance of Gays on Rise, Polls Show," *Los Angeles Times*, March 30, 2004.

issues, were lower than that of "society," but higher than expected.[52] As seen in Table 4, one-third of Marine Corps officers indicated that homosexuals should have the same rights to marry as heterosexuals—which is over 20 percentage points *higher* than the proportion of Marines who felt that homosexuals should not be restricted from serving in the military.

Table 4. Homosexual Marriage Society vs. Navy/USMC Opinion 2000-2004.

Would you favor or oppose a law that would allow homosexual couples to legally form civil unions, giving them some of the legal rights of married couples? [a]			
Question 45. Homosexuals should have the same rights to marry as heterosexuals. [b]			
Year	**Society** [a]	**Navy**	**Marines**
2000	42%	•	•
2002	46%	•	•
2004	**49%**	**35.1%**	**33.3%**

[a] David W. Moore, "Modest Rebound in Public Acceptance Of Homosexuals, Public Remains Divided on cause of Homosexuality" Gallup Organization, [http://www.gallup.com/poll/content/print.aspx?ci=10240], 20 May 2004.

[b] Question and percentage found in Appendix A. No trend data could be determined since 2004 was the first data point for this question.

While serving on active duty, personnel receive additional benefits once married. Normally granted are benefits such as medical care for dependents, additional pay for housing, separation pay while members are deployed, and special quarters in government housing. Though the question asked by the Gallup Organization and question 46 of the 2004 survey ("If homosexuals were allowed to serve openly, [should] their dependents . . . be entitled the same benefits provided to dependents of heterosexuals?") do not cover these benefits specifically, the most military officers understand the specific types of benefits that are available to a married service member. At the same time, it is assumed that adults in the general population would consider income tax breaks, deductions on home and auto insurance, family medical premium savings, and so on when answering the survey question.

[52] Question 45, on the topic of same-sex marriage, was added to the 2004 NPS survey because it had become a major issue of discussion at the time and was seen as providing further insight into the depth of opinion regarding DADT and general tolerance of the respondents.

As seen in Table 5, the general population is less inclined to accept homosexual unions when legal rights and benefits of marriage are attached. Although the question posed to Navy and Marine Corps officers is different than the question asked of the general public—since the benefits for homosexuals in the NPS survey refer specifically to dependents and are conditional upon homosexuals being previously permitted to serve openly in the military—the comparison between the "military" and "society" is interesting. Obviously, one should be cautious about drawing conclusions from the comparison of responses to these questions. In the question for military officers, they are first given to assume that homosexuals are allowed to serve; then they are basically asked if homosexuals with dependents should be granted the same support for their dependents that are granted to heterosexuals. Thus, the question is primarily one of equity or even legality, not sexual orientation. Further, it is likely that "dependents" are thought to be children here, since the question doesn't raise the prospect of same-sex marriages, which were not legal at the time. Some of the officers could have been thinking of same-sex partners when reading "dependents," although it is far more likely that "dependents" are interpreted as being dependent children.

Question 46 was included in the 2004 survey to address the ongoing controversy at the time regarding same-sex unions and the possibility that removing DADT would affect the military's benefits policies. The greater issue would not relate to benefits for dependent children, but benefits for the same-sex partners of military members who have formed a civil union legally in a state where it is permitted.

Table 5. Homosexual Marriage and Benefits: Society vs. Navy/USMC Opinion, 2000-2004.

Would you favor or oppose a law that would allow homosexual couples to legally form civil unions, giving them some of the legal rights of married couples? [a]			
Question 46. If homosexuals were allowed to serve openly, their dependents should be entitled the same benefits provided to dependents of heterosexuals.[b]			
Year	**Society** [a]	**Navy**	**Marines**
2000	42%	•	•
2002	46%	•	•
2004	**49%**	**69.2%**	**63.8%**

[a] David W. Moore, "Modest Rebound in Public Acceptance Of Homosexuals, Public Remains Divided on cause of Homosexuality" Gallup Organization, [http://www.gallup.com/poll/content/print.aspx?ci=10240], 20 May 2004.

[b] Question and percentage found in Appendix A. No trend data could be determined since 2004 was the first data point for this question.

Researchers continue to explore the origins of homosexuality. As with many human behavioral characteristics, scientists have attempted to determine the relative influence of genetics and environment, "nature and nurture," singularly and in combination. Those who feel that homosexuality is predetermined, an outcome of human development in the earliest stages of life, see a day when proof of this will lead to changes in public attitudes, acceptance, and legal rights throughout the greater society. At the same time, as long as homosexuality is seen predominantly as a choice, or as a controllable behavior, or as a psychological malady, it becomes more difficult for homosexuals to gain public acceptance and the same rights as are granted to heterosexuals. Since a person's position on the importance of "nature" or "nurture" can therefore affect one's attitude toward homosexuals, a line of questioning on the issue was included in the survey.

Tables 6 and 7 present findings from the Gallup Poll and NPS survey. When asked if homosexuality is a "born trait," it can be seen here that the trend in each of these surveys has been an increasing belief in the influence of genetics. In 2004, 37 percent of society felt it is genetic trait, an increase from 31 percent in 1996. Among Marine Corps officers, 45 percent felt that homosexuality is determined from birth in the 2004 survey,

rising from about 35 percent in 1999. Likewise, in 2004, over half (53 percent) of Navy officers believed homosexuality was genetic, as the proportion increased each year the NPS survey was administered.

Table 6. Origins of Homosexuality (Genetics): Society vs. Navy/USMC Opinion, 1994-2004.

In your view, is homosexuality something a person is born with, or is homosexuality due to factors such as upbringing and environment?			
Question 4. Homosexuals are probably born that way. [b]			
Year	**Society** [a]	**Navy**	**Marines**
1994	•	32.6%	•
1996	31%	36.4%	•
1999	34%	40.2%	34.8%
2004	**37%**	**53.0%**	**45.1%**

[a] David W. Moore, "Modest Rebound in Public Acceptance Of Homosexuals, Public Remains Divided on cause of Homosexuality" Gallup Organization, [http://www.gallup.com/poll/content/print.aspx?ci=10240], 20 May 2004.

[b] Question and percentage found in Appendix A

A similar question, stated in the opposite fashion, was also included in the NPS survey. As shown in Table 7, when Navy and Marine Corps officers were asked in 2004 if they agreed that homosexuality is "learned through society" and can "changed at will," at least 40 percent (47 percent of Marines) said that they did. As it turns out, these proportions are very similar to those found in the Gallup Poll. The only noticeable difference between the results of the NPS surveys and those of the Gallup Poll is the rising proportion of those in the 1999 Gallup Poll who agreed that homosexuality is due to "upbringing and environment." Otherwise the trend would appear to mirror that shown in Table 6, with a shift in view toward "nature" (or genetics) over "nurture (or environment).

While these two questions may not be a tangible measure of tolerance, there is the notion that an individual would be more accepting of someone who has a trait or characteristic that is basically beyond one's control. It is interesting that the trend toward believing homosexuality is predetermined seems to be stronger among the Navy and

Marine Corps officers than it is among the general public. This may a factor of advanced education, among other characteristics, recognizing that the officers are in graduate school and have been exposed to more scientific information and modes of inquiry than has the average person in the general population.

Table 7. Origins of Homosexuality (Environment): Society vs. Navy/USMC Opinion, 1994-2004.

In your view, is homosexuality something a person is born with, or is homosexuality due to factors such as upbringing and environment?			
Question 5. Homosexual orientation is learned through society interaction and can be changed at will. [b]			
Year	**Society** [a]	**Navy**	**Marines**
1977	56%	•	•
1982	52%	•	•
1989	48%	•	•
1994	•	52%	•
1996	40%	45%	•
1999	44%	45%	51%
2004	**41%**	**40%**	**47%**

[a] David W. Moore, "Modest Rebound in Public Acceptance Of Homosexuals, Public Remains Divided on cause of Homosexuality" Gallup Organization, [http://www.gallup.com/poll/content/print.aspx?ci=10240], 20 May 2004.

[b] Question and percentage found in Appendix A

B. TREND ANALYSIS OF NAVAL OFFICERS' ATTITUDES: A TEN-YEAR STUDY

This section explores five categories of attitudes covered in the NPS surveys: Policy, Cohesion, Leadership, Behavior, and Rights of homosexuals under DADT. Specifically, the trend analysis seeks to discover if the views of NPS students have changed over the ten-year period covered by the four surveys.

1. Policy

Department of Defense (DoD) policy is intended to support the readiness of all military branches by maintaining high standards of conduct and performance.[53] To this end, specific policy regulations and guidelines were created to deal with service members who are discovered to be homosexual. NPS students have been asked questions pertaining to the DADT policy, with the results found in Table 8.

Each question that was asked in the "policy" category shows an increasing tolerance for DADT, with the exception to Question 8. Question 2, which asks "Would full acceptance send the wrong message?" shows a 12 percent increase in tolerance over the decade examined. Table 3 illustrates that society has an 80 percent acceptance of having homosexuals in the military. Repealing the policy to allow homosexuals to serve openly would be in keeping with the views of society. Question 38 had a response that increased by 33 percentage points (from 1994 to 2004) in favor of DADT, compared with the previous policy that more directly and rigorously banned homosexuals from serving. This could reflect the fact that the individuals who entered the military under the existing DADT policy are more familiar with it, and are of a younger age group, which tends to be generally more tolerant of homosexuals. From the findings in Question 6, it is clear that a great number of respondents feel they have a firm understanding of the policy and know the difference between sexual conduct and sexual orientation.

The only question that could be viewed as reflecting some level of tolerance concerning the policy relates to whether DADT is should be considered a "positive step for the gay movement." That is, one would assume that the service members have seen and read enough to know that the "gay movement" has been trying to overturn DADT since the day it was enacted in 1993. They should know that most homosexuals feel the policy restricts them unfairly from openly expressing themselves while they are serving in their nation's military.

[53] Department of Defense Directive 1332.14, December 21, 1993.

Table 8. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Navy Officers regarding Homosexual Policy, 1994-2004

Question [a]	**June 1994**	**March 1996**	**March 1999**	**December 2004**
2. Full acceptance of homosexuals in the military sends the wrong message to the rest of society	72.9%	65.8%	59.1%	**60.5%**
6. The difference between sexual conduct and sexual orientation are clearly defined and I can distinguish the two.	67.5%	75.1%	85.7%	**85.0%**
8. The current policy is a positive step for the gay movement.	66.7%	62.0%	59.9%	**47.3%**
16. It is just a matter of time until military policy is changed to full and open acceptance of homosexuals	48.5%	56.4%	59.4%	**56.9%**
21. The current policy is good for national defense	18.0%	29.6%	35.7%	**46.1%**
38. On the whole, I like the current policy better than the old one.	23.3%	29.8%	44.2%	**56.6%**

[a] Question and percentage found in Appendix A

2. Cohesion

Cohesion is defined as "the bonding together of soldiers in such a way as to sustain their will and commitment to each other, the unit, and mission accomplishment, despite combat or mission stress."[54] All branches of the military must maintain a cohesive organization to operate at a paramount level, particularly during wartime.

Questions shown in Table 9 reflect the opinions of officers regarding cohesion. Approximately half (51.5 percent) of Navy officers in 2004 agreed that "homosexuals would cause the downfall of good order and discipline" within their organization. Even though this represents a majority of Navy respondents, the level of agreement is 27.3 percentage points lower than that of Navy officers in 1994 (78.8 percent). When this question is matched with question 24, asking if the respondent would feel "uncomfortable or have difficulty interacting normally with homosexuals," the responses in 2004 indicate that nearly 80 percent of the officers feel they would have no difficulty or would not feel

[54] General Edward Meyer, Chief of Staff, as quoted in the Cunningham Thesis, 13.

uncomfortable interacting with homosexuals. In 1994, when the first survey was administered, well fewer than half (42.2 percent) felt that they would feel comfortable.

In 2004, a little over one-third (35.9 percent) of the Navy officers felt that the presence of a homosexual in their unit would interfere with mission accomplishment. In 1996, when this question was first asked, more than half of the respondents in felt homosexuals would hinder mission accomplishment.

Respondents feel strongly that homosexuals are trustworthy when dealing with classified information, as 88.6 percent of respondents in 2004 felt they could trust homosexuals with classified military documents. This compares with 70.4 percent of Navy officers answering this question in 1994.

In summary, on the issue of unit cohesion, the majority of respondents feel collectively that homosexuals may disrupt good order and discipline (question 12). At the same time, a vast majority of Navy officers do not believe that the presence of homosexuals would interfere with mission accomplishment (question 44); a vast majority feel comfortable in the presence of homosexuals (question 24); and a vast majority believe that homosexuals can be trusted with secret military documents (question 17), suggesting a high level of confidence generally in honorable service.

Table 9. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Navy Officers Regarding Cohesion on the Topic of Cohesion concerning Homosexuals, 1994-2004

Question [a]	**June 1994**	**March 1996**	**March 1999**	**December 2004**
12. Allowing homosexual personnel within the Navy/USMC can cause a downfall of good order and discipline.	78.8%	66.5%	58.8%	**51.5%**
17. Homosexuals can be trusted with secret military documents.	70.4%	79.6%	83.2%	**88.6%**
24. I feel uncomfortable in the presence of homosexuals and have difficulty interacting normally with them.	57.8%	44.2%	36.4%	**21.0%**
44. The presence of a homosexual in my unit would interfere with mission accomplishment.	n/a	50.7%	43.7%	**35.9%**

[a] **Question and percentage found in Appendix A**

3. Leadership

Trends were evaluated regarding three leadership questions for all four surveys. With each, a significant increase in tolerance was noted. A notable pattern was discovered within the hierarchy of the questions when dealing with leadership and interaction among individuals. As seen in Table 10, question 9 asked whether an individual would have difficulty working for a homosexual Commanding Officer (CO). The majority of respondents were Lieutenants at the time of the survey, and these officers would have held a position of division officer at a previous command. This would generally give respondents the least interaction with the CO as an officer. Interaction would include weekly meetings, CO's call, and times while on watch, and so on. In 2004, 60.5 percent of Navy officers felt they wouldn't have any difficulties working for a homosexual CO. This compares with only 30.4 percent of respondents in 1994, at the height of the debate over President Clinton's proposal.

Question 25 asks if a division officer's sexuality would affect that person's leadership ability. With the majority of the respondents being Lieutenants, the respondents most likely answered this question putting themselves in the position of a homosexual division officer, as a peer of a homosexual division officer, or as a

Department Head, who would be the immediate supervisor of a homosexual division officer. Interaction with a homosexual division officer would be more frequent. Aside from seeing themselves as the homosexual, individuals would interact in the same department, dine in the same wardroom, and would possibly share a stateroom and/or bathroom. The respondents to this question, who would normally have more interaction with a division officer than with the CO, show that 63.5 percent agree that a division officer's sexuality would have no effect on his or her ability to lead. This response is 3 percentage points higher than on the question that addresses working for a homosexual CO (a working relationship with less interaction), and more than 25 percentage points greater than the proportion of officers agreeing in 1994.

Question 33 asks if an order by the CO would be obeyed to work with a homosexual co-worker on a difficult or dangerous assignment. This scenario would entail working closely with a homosexual on a daily basis that would possibly require many hours of interaction. The level of interaction for this question would require the most interaction with a homosexual co-worker when compared with the relationships hypothesized in questions 9 and 25. The findings show that 77.9 percent of respondents would not have difficulty in a situation explained in question 33, a more than 26 percentage-point increase from that of the 1994 survey respondents (49.7 percent). The results for Question 33 show the highest acceptance rate among the three scenarios dealing with working relationships involving a homosexual. The hypothetical situation in question 33 would also require the closest working relationship among the possible scenarios.

Overall, a clear majority of respondents state that sexual orientation would not hinder the working relationship or leadership ability of a homosexual in a leadership position and that they would support a homosexual if the person were in their chain-of-command.

Table 10. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Navy Officers on The Topic of Leadership Concerning Homosexuals: Years 1994-2004

Question [a]	**June 1994**	**March 1996**	**March 1999**	**December 2004**
9. I would have no difficulty working for a homosexual Commanding Officer.	30.4%	37.2%	42.5%	**60.5%**
25. A division officer's sexual preference has no effect on the officer's ability to lead.	38.3%	53.2%	55.8%	**63.5%**
33. I would have no difficulty obeying an order from the Commanding Officer to work with a homosexual co-worker on a difficult/dangerous assignment.	49.7%	61.6%	67.3%	**77.9%**

[a] **Question and percentage found in Appendix A**

4. Tolerance

"Tolerance" is surely the underlying factor with regard to the DADT. Homosexuals, it is said, are not able to serve for many reasons, one of which is that heterosexuals would be unable to tolerate their behavior and sexual orientation, causing a serious breakdown of good order and discipline. Table 11 compares the responses to four questions relating to tolerance. The results show generally that respondents continue to express tolerance toward homosexuals. Further, respondents appear to have remained at the same level of tolerance between 1999 and 2004, when comparing themselves with their peers. However, the rise from previous levels is notable: the proportion of respondents seeing themselves as "more tolerant than their peers" rose from 56.1 percent in 1994 to over 70 percent in 1999 and again in 2004.

Another interesting result is found in question 43, which asks officers if they would resign their commission if homosexuals were allowed to serve. Only 8.4 percent were willing to give up their career if the DADT policy were repealed in 2004. However, 19.8 percent of respondents in 1996 would have resigned their commission, followed by an increase to 26.9 percent in 1999. This decrease in the proportion of officers who claim to be willing to give up their commission may be due to the class of junior officers who have responded to the survey.

After conducting a cross-tabulation, results show that individuals in the pay grades of O-4 (12.7 percent) and O-5 (18.2 percent) were the most willing to give up their

commission; also, respondents who had 10 -12 years time in service (TIS) were twice as likely to resign their commission when compared with any of the other TIS groups. These results are displayed in Figure 1.

Table 11. After conducting a cross-tabulation, results show that individuals in the pay grades of O-4 (12.7 percent) and O-5 (18.2 percent) were the most willing to give up their commission; also, respondents who had 10 -12 years time in service (TIS) were twice as likely to resign their

Question [a]	**June 1994**	**March 1996**	**March 1999**	**December 2004**
9. I would have no difficulty working for a homosexual Commanding Officer.	30.4%	37.2%	42.5%	**60.5%**
25. A division officer's sexual preference has no effect on the officer's ability to lead.	38.3%	53.2%	55.8%	**63.5%**
33. I would have no difficulty obeying an order from the Commanding Officer to work with a homosexual co-worker on a difficult/dangerous assignment.	49.7%	61.6%	67.3%	**77.9%**

[a] Question and percentage found in Appendix A

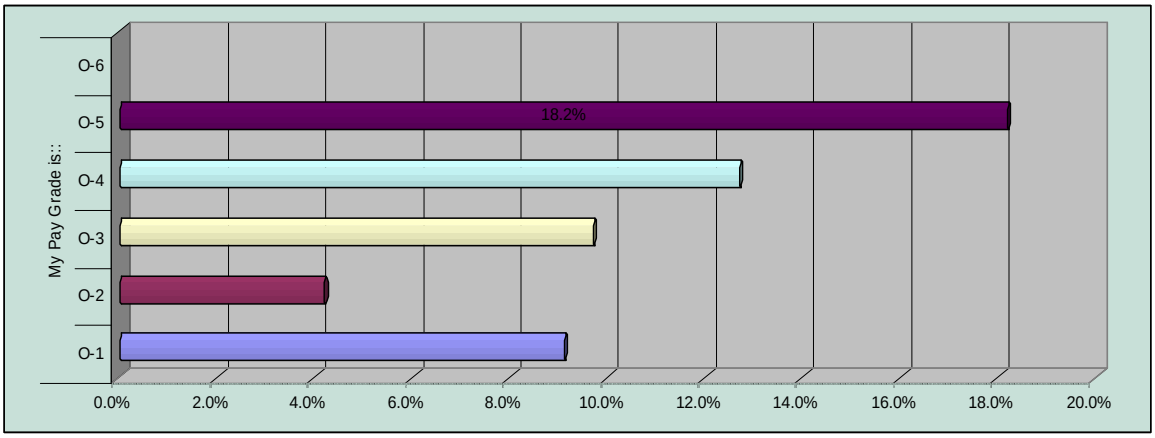


Figure 1. Question 43. If homosexuals were allowed to serve openly in the Navy/Marine Corps, I would resign my commission.

5. Off-Duty Activity of Active Duty Personnel

Military leaders promote a "24/7 mentality" regarding commitment to duty. Basically, this means that, both on and off duty, service members are expected to follow rules and regulations imposed on the armed forces, legally, morally, and ethically, 24-hours a day, seven days a week. Table 12 compares responses from the four surveys to questions concerning off-duty activity that may be considered homosexual in nature.

A total of 32.1 percent of respondents who would have seen "Airman Jones" holding hands with a same-sex civilian in 2004 felt it was their responsibility to gather more information; in 1994, 43.8 percent (roughly 11 percentage points higher) of the respondents felt obligated to investigate. Similar findings are found for the questions of "marching in gay parades" and "socializing in gay bars." Fewer than 23 percent of Navy officers in 2004 felt that marching in a gay parade should be equated with homosexual orientation; similarly, just over 17 percent of respondents in 2004 felt that persons who socialize in a gat bar are engaging in sexual misconduct. These percentages are considerably lower than in 1994 and the lowest of the four surveys.

Question 10 may shed some light on other answers to questions in this category. When asked for their opinion about "lawful off-duty sexual activity," more than 82 percent of respondents in 2004 felt that it was of no concern to them. In 1994, 70 percent of respondents felt the same way. This gives the impression that sex is considered a private matter between consenting adults, no matter if it is in a heterosexual or homosexual relationship. Although military doctrine imposes the "24/7" philosophy, the underlying theme from these results is that what goes on in the private lives of individuals, while off-duty, should be of little or no concern to Navy officers.

It is also interesting to note that 35.4 percent of Navy officers in 2004 claim to "know a homosexual service member." This compares with 21.2 percent in 1999, the only other time the question was included in the NPS survey. What makes this most interesting is not only the substantial rise in the proportion of Navy officers claiming to know a homosexual service member, but the fact that *any* Navy officers would even make such a claim. By definition, if the Navy officer actually *knows* another service

member is homosexual, the person *known* to be a homosexual is serving openly, at least to the extent that one or more officers *know* the person's sexual orientation. Furthermore, since DADT shifts the gate-keeping function to military leaders, such as these Navy officers, it is the officer's responsibility to report infractions of DADT. Apparently, in 2004, over a third of the Navy officers who responded to the survey felt that it would be acceptable to serve with a "known" homosexual, without invoking DADT to discharge the service member.

Table 12. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Naval Officers on the Topic of Off-Duty Activity of Active Duty Personnel, 1994-2004

Question [a]	June 1994	March 1996	March 1999	**December 2004**
10. Lawful off-duty sexual activity would be of no concern to me.	70.0%	71.6%	81.7%	**82.3%**
11. Airmen Jones was holding hands with the same sex civilian in a movie theater. It is your responsibility to investigate this activity.	43.8%	35.5%	31.4%	**32.1%**
23. Marching in "Gay Parades" demonstrates homosexual orientation.	39.5%	38.4%	26.0%	**22.8%**
31. Service members who socialize in "gay bars" are engaging in sexual misconduct.	31.7%	22.6%	23.5%	**17.4%**
49. I personally know a homosexual service member.	n/a	n/a	21.2%	**35.4%**

[a] *Question and percentage found in Appendix A*

6. Officer Relations with Homosexual Civilians

Table 13 compares responses to questions relating to the opinions about homosexuals in the general population and the contact Navy Officers may have with them. As seen previously, Navy Officers continued to exhibit an increasing tolerance similar to that of the general population. The 1994 survey showed that 45.1 percent of officers would oppose having a homosexual as a neighbor; in 2004, only 19.2 percent of Navy officers felt the same way. One factor that may help to provide an explanation for this change of attitude is the rising proportion of officers who have a direct association with someone who is homosexual. In question 48, which asks officers to agree/disagree with "I have a friend or relative who is homosexual," over half (56.6 percent) of the respondents claimed to have a relative or a friend who is homosexual. A decade ago, only

28.5 percent of respondents said that they had a friend or relative who was homosexual, more than doubling the 1994 response rate. The response to whether "a homosexual can be determined by appearance or mannerisms" remained nearly the same across the four studies, with only 13.2 percent believing they could identify a homosexual by appearance or mannerisms. Question 29 indicates that 66.5 percent of Navy Officers feel that civilian homosexuals are of "no consequence" to them. The 1994 response was 55.4 percent, 11 percentage points lower than in 2004, suggesting an increase in tolerance and a decreasing concern for what civilian homosexuals do.

Table 13. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Naval Officers on the Topic of Officer Relations with Homosexual Civilians, 1994-2004

Question [a]	**June 1994**	**March 1996**	**March 1999**	**December 2004**
15. I can easily determine whether or not someone is homosexual by appearance and mannerisms.	10.8%	9.7%	10.8%	**13.2%**
29. Civilian homosexuals are of no consequence to me.	55.4%	51.2%	57.5%	**66.5%**
30. I would not want a gay person as my neighbor.	45.1%	38.7%	32.0%	**19.2%**
48. I have friend or a relative who is homosexual.	28.5%	46.1%	46.3%	**56.6%**

[a] *Question and percentage found in Appendix A*

7. Homosexuals in a Military Environment

Table 14 compares the responses to five questions relating to how the behavior of homosexuals and the behavior of heterosexuals who are in the same environment would affect the relationships of individuals with a different sexual orientation. Of the five questions in the surveys, the responses to only one question show an increased concern over homosexual service members; responses to the remaining four questions in 2004 are otherwise proportionately lower than in previous years. The one question that stands out is whether homosexuals are "more likely to suffer emotional problems in a military setting." Two-thirds of Navy officers in 2004 agreed with this statement, compared with 57.5 officers in 1999, and over half of the respondents in 1996 and 1994, as well.

It is also interesting to observe that these Navy officers do not seem to have much faith in their fellow service members or in the ability of the Navy to "protect"

homosexuals from hate crimes. Indeed, over four out of five officers in the surveys consistently claim that a homosexual's safety and life could be in danger "due to the beliefs of other service members" (question 41). The disturbing element embedded in the answers to this question is that the officers must have some basis for believing this; the officers must have observed some behavior, or heard some remarks, or were witness to some threats that would cause so *many* officers to feel that homosexuals "could be in danger" by serving openly in the Navy.

Question 19, "heterosexuals are at greater risk of having their privacy invaded by homosexuals" is supported by only 31.4 percent of respondents; this compares with 61.8 percent of respondents in 1994, a substantial drop. It should be noted that the interpretation of this question could relate to some "passive" type of invasion of privacy—for example, in showering or some other simple, sometimes communal, daily activity. Question 40 is related to question 19 in the sense that "unwanted sexual advances" would also be an "invasion," but aggressive rather than passive. Fewer than 10 percent of the officers in 2004 felt that sexual advances would be an issue of importance, and this is similarly low in previous years. An item to point out here is that officers generally have more privacy while aboard ship, especially in areas where an individual may be more likely to have his or her privacy invaded, such as shower areas, bathrooms, or berthing areas.

In 2004, 39.2 percent of Navy officers agreed that homosexuals could "pose a health risk" to the Navy; this is substantially lower than in 1994, when 74 percent of officers agreed. The perceived "health risk" concerning homosexuals is likely that of a sexually-transmitted disease or HIV/AIDS; however, procedures, controls, and testing, as well as education, were more advanced in 2004 than in 1994, and this could account for the considerably lower levels of concern found in the later surveys.

Table 14. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Naval Officers on the Topic of Homosexuals in a Military Environment, 1994-2004

Question [a]	June 1994	March 1996	March 1999	December 2004
19. Under the current policy, heterosexuals aboard ship are at greater risk of having their privacy invaded by homosexuals	61.8%	50.7%	44.2%	**31.4%**
29. Homosexuals are more likely to suffer emotional problems in a military setting.	55.4%	51.2%	57.5%	**66.5%**
35. Homosexuals could pose a health risk to the Navy/Marine Corps.	74.0%	65.4%	49.3%	**39.2%**
40. The current policy has the effect of encouraging homosexuals to make unwanted sexual advances.	n/a	13.5%	10.7%	**9.9%**
41. A homosexual's safety and life could be in danger due to beliefs held by other service members.	n/a	85.5%	86.4%	**80.3%**

[a] *Question and percentage found in Appendix A*

C. NAVY AND MARINE CORPS OFFICER ATTITUDE DIFFERENCES

This section examines the same categories of policy, cohesion, leadership, tolerance, off-duty activity, homosexual civilian relations, and military environment to compare the attitudes of Navy officers with those of Marine Corps Officers.

1. Navy vs. USMC Attitudes on Policy

When the attitudes of Navy officers are compared with those of Marine Corps officers on policy concerning homosexuals in the military, Marine Corps officers are found to be consistently less tolerant toward homosexuals. Overall, both Navy and Marine Corps officers feel the same regarding the questions asked. Of the six questions that were asked regarding policy, only two questions showed responses with more than a 3 percent difference between the two groups. For example, on question 16, which states the "it is just a matter of time until military policy is changed to full and open acceptance

of homosexuals," Marine Corps officers agreed at a slightly lower rate (51 percent) than did Navy officers (56.9 percent) that DADT will eventually be eliminated.

A more noticeable difference is found in answers to question 38, which states that "on the whole, I like the current policy better than the old one." Here, 56.6 Percent of Navy officers favored DADT, while 36.3 percent (20 percentage points fewer) of Marine Corps Officers held a similar view.

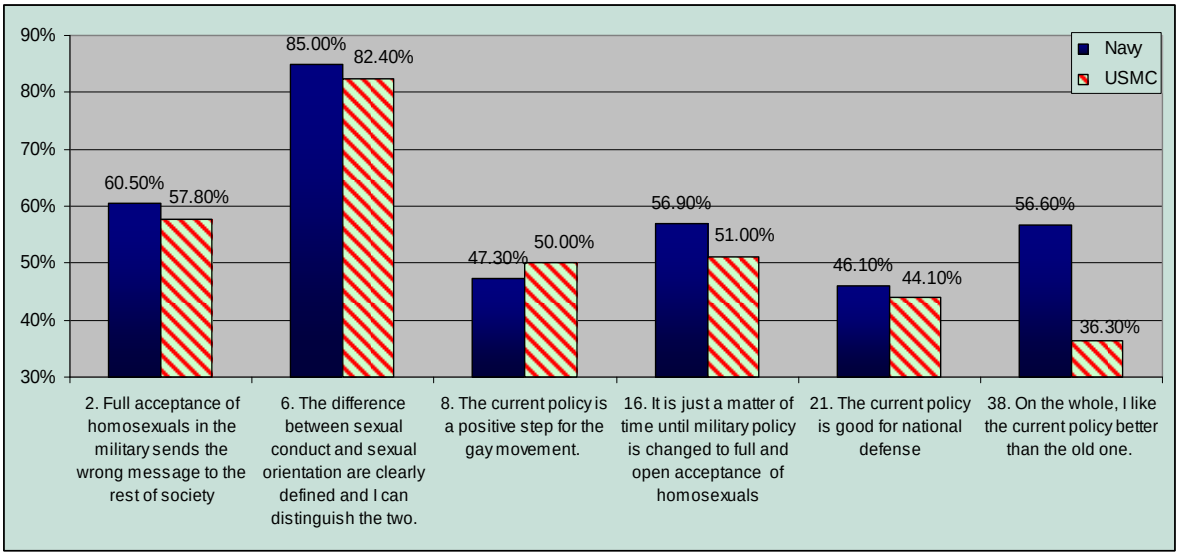

90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
Navy
USMC
60.50%
57.80%
85.00%
82.40%
47.30%
50.00%
56.90%
51.00%
46.10%
44.10%
56.60%
36.30%
2. Full acceptance of homosexuals in the military sends the wrong message to the rest of society
6. The difference between sexual conduct and sexual orientation are clearly defined and I can distinguish the two.
8. The current policy is a positive step for the gay movement.
16. It is just a matter of time until military policy is changed to full and open acceptance of homosexuals
21. The current policy is good for national defense
38. On the whole, I like the current policy better than the old one.

Figure 2. Comparison of Navy and Marine Corps officers' Attitudes concerning DADT Policy

2. Navy vs. USMC Attitudes on Cohesion

On the topic of cohesion, Marine Corps officers are clearly more wary of having homosexuals serving openly. Two questions in particular show a considerable difference in thinking between Navy and Marine Corps officers. In 2004, 70.6 percent of Marine Corps officers regarded homosexuality as a disruption to good order and discipline within ranks. Only 51.5 percent of Navy officers found the same. Regarding mission accomplishment, 58.9 percent of Marine Corps officers felt that homosexuals would be a possible interference; this compares with only 35.9 percent of Navy officers. Obviously, the differing missions of the two services, along with their differing cultures, play a role in how officers answer this question.

Marine Corps officers perform duties that involve extremely close interaction in primitive and arduous conditions that routinely require individuals to forgo privacy. However, officers feel this is seen only on a command, or unit level. Question 24 supports this notion with roughly a quarter of Marines indicating they are "uncomfortable in the presence of homosexuals and have difficulty interacting with them normally." As it turns out, 28.4 percent of Marine Corps officers support the statement in question 24, while 21.0 percent of Navy officers feel the same. A large percentage of Marine Corps officers and Navy officers would have no personal reservations working around homosexuals, but feel that a large majority of others at the command may have problems.

Navy and Marine Corps officers do, however, hold similar views that homosexuals can be trusted with classified material. A total of 88.6 percent of Navy officers and 79.4 percent of Marine Corps officers consider homosexuals as trustworthy with secret military documents.

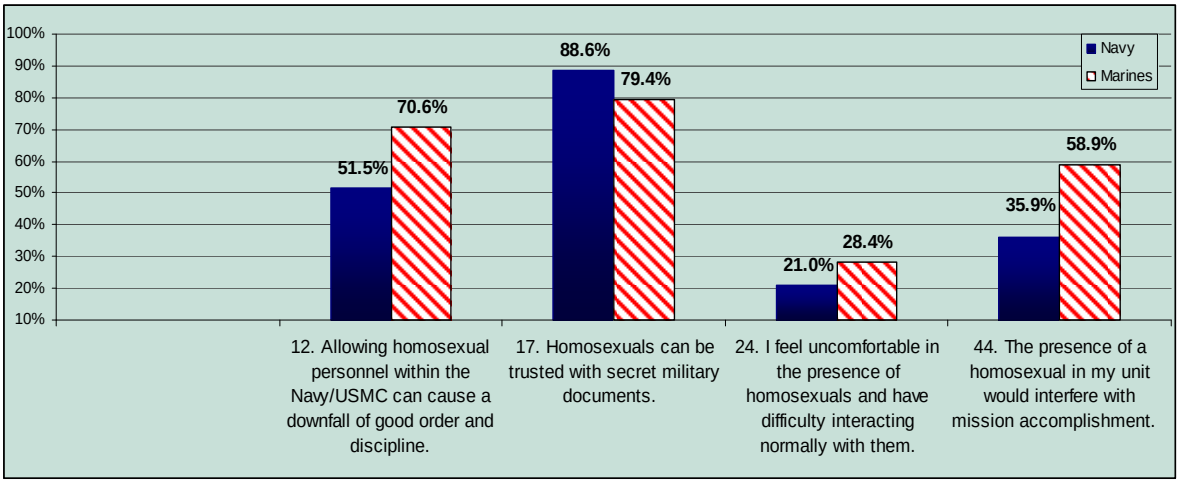


Figure 3. Comparison of Navy and Marine Corps Officers' Attitudes Concerning Cohesion

3. Navy vs. USMC Attitudes on Leadership

Figure 4 shows differences between Navy and Marine Corps officers with respect to leadership issues. In general, officers from both services show more tolerance toward homosexuals as each question moves toward one-on-one interaction. Navy officers tend to believe more than Marine Corps officers that homosexuality would not degrade an

individual's leadership traits. For example, proportionately more Navy officers (60.5 percent) than Marine Corps officers (44.1 percent) would have no reservations working for a homosexual CO. Further, 63.5 percent of Navy officers feel a division officer's sexual preference has no effect on his or her ability to lead; this compares with 50 percent of Marine Corps officers. When asked, "I would have no difficulties working with a homosexual one on one," officers from both services responded similarly: 77.9 percent of Navy officers and 70 percent of Marine Corps officers felt comfortable working with a homosexual. This coincides with question 24, which shows a considerably small percentage of officers who would feel "uncomfortable interacting with homosexuals."

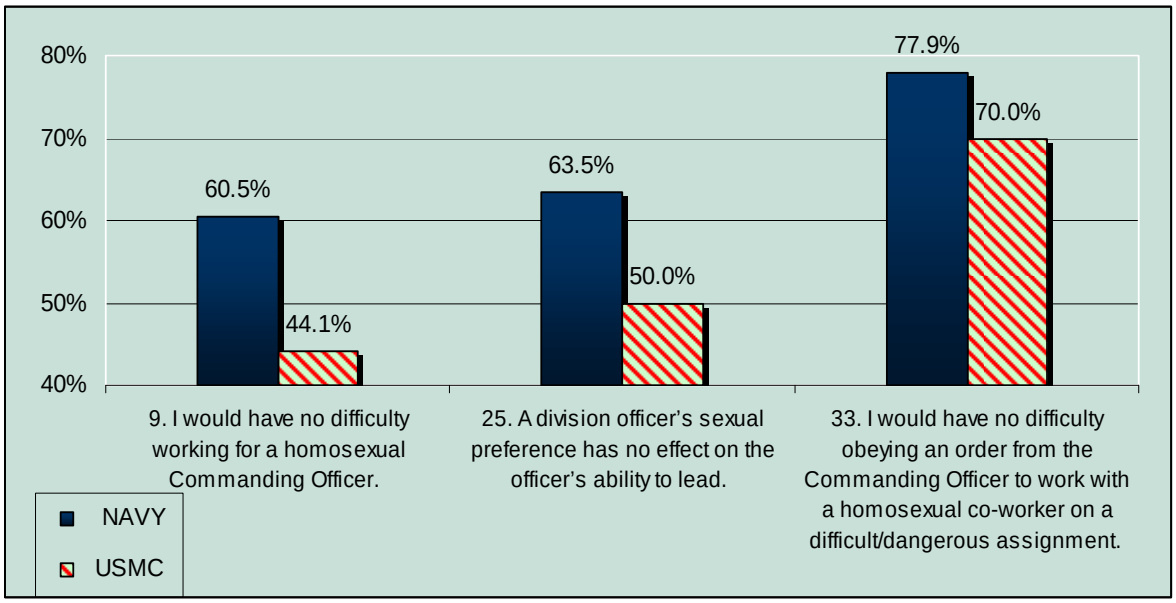


Figure 4. Comparison of Navy and Marine Corps Officers' Attitudes Concerning Leadership

4. Navy vs. USMC Attitudes on Tolerance

Figure 5. shows the differences of opinion among Navy and Marine Corps officers as they relate to tolerance. On the basis of these questions, one could say that Navy officers are generally more tolerant of homosexuals than are their counterparts in the Marine Corps. For example, using self-stated perceptions (and definitions) of tolerance, 70.1 percent of Navy officers believe their attitude with regard to homosexuals in the military is more tolerant than that of their peers. This compares with 59.8 percent

of Marine Corps officers who also felt more tolerant than that of their peers. On the matter of becoming more tolerant since the inception of DADT, slightly more Navy officers (30.5 percent) than Marine Corps officers (24.5 percent) felt the current policy swayed them to become more tolerant.

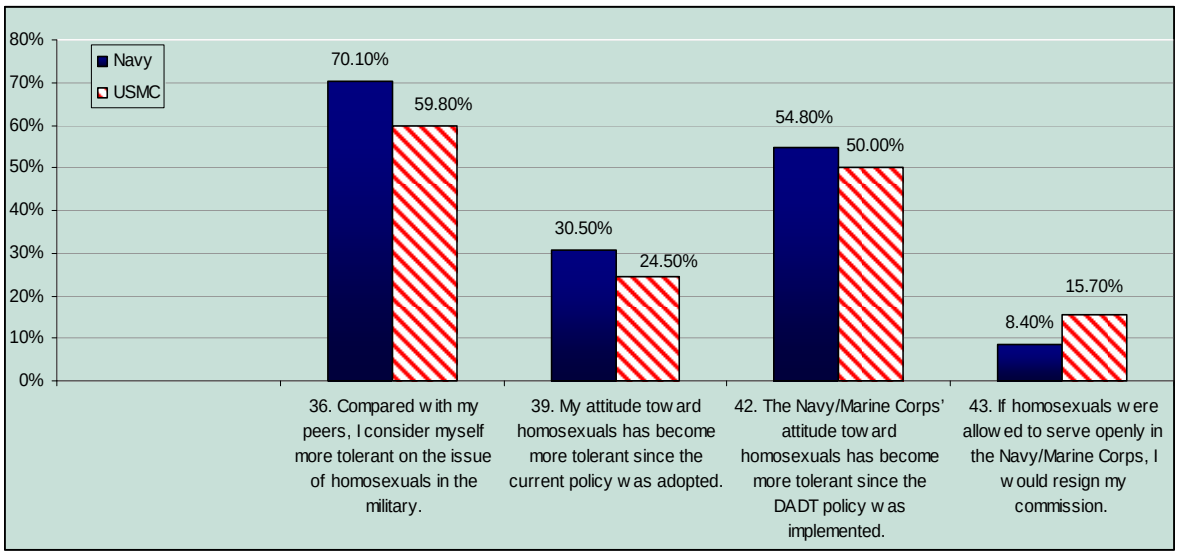


Figure 5. Comparison of Navy and Marine Corps Officers' Attitudes Concerning Tolerance

A noteworthy finding is seen when both groups were asked if they would resign their commission. Marine Corps officers (15.7 percent) would be nearly twice as likely as their Navy counterparts (8.4 percent) to resign (or claim to resign) their commission if homosexuals were allowed to serve openly.

5. Navy vs. USMC Attitudes on Off-Duty Activity

In Figure 6, the trend of lower tolerance among Marine Corps officers can be seen in questions relating to off-duty activity. Basically, Marine Corps officers are more likely to be opposed to homosexual activity, even while members are off duty, when compared with the attitudes of Navy officers.

Of the cohort of Marines who responded to the survey, only 19.6 percent state they know of a homosexual service member. This compares with 35.4 percent of Navy officers. The majority of officers in both services claim that lawful off-duty sexual

activity would be of no concern to them, although the proportion of officers agreeing with this is higher in the Navy (82.3 percent) than in the Marine Corps (66.7 percent).

A preponderance of officers in both services consider off-duty activity that includes marching in gay parades or socializing in gay bars as neither a demonstration of homosexual orientation nor sexual misconduct. In following the theme found on most questions, Marine officers were more inclined than their Navy counterparts to see these activities as a demonstration of orientation or misconduct. At the same time, half of Marine Corps officers believe they have the "responsibility to investigate" an incident of same-sex handholding that is witnessed in a theater. By comparison, 32.1 percent of Navy officers felt that they were responsible for investigating such activity.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of responses to this line of questioning is not necessarily the obvious differences in attitudes between Navy officers and Marine Corps officers. Indeed, it would appear from the answers that many officers do not fully understand the provisions and guidelines of DADT. That is, DADT does not distinguish between off-duty and on-duty incidents of sexual misconduct; and the policy clearly states that commanders should investigate reported incidents of misconduct, which could include hand-holding in public, if a "reasonable person" believes the action conveys an intention to engage in a homosexual act. In addition, according to DADT, marching in a gay parade is not considered sexual misconduct. Thus, the questions shown in Figure 6 are as much a measure of how well these officers understand DADT as they are of anything else.

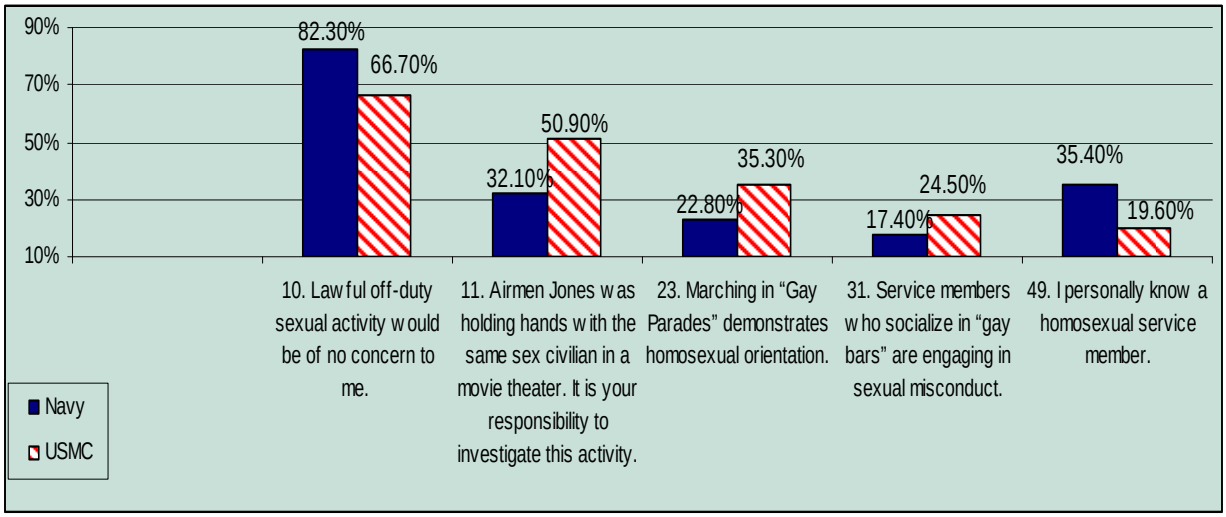


Figure 6. Comparison of Navy and Marine Corps Officers' Attitudes Concerning Off Duty Activity

6. Navy vs. USMC Attitudes on Homosexual Civilians

Figure 7 shows the differences in attitudes between Navy and Marine Corps officers on issues relating to homosexual civilians. Collectively, neither group of officers felt they could easily determine whether or not someone was a homosexual by appearance and mannerisms. Only 13.2 percent of Navy officers and 9.8 percent of Marine Corps officer felt they could.

About half of both groups of officers stated they have a friend or relative who is homosexual. Similar proportions of both groups (about two-thirds of Navy and Marine Corps officers) agreed that "civilian homosexuals are of no consequence to me."

The largest difference was found in responses to question 29, stating that "I would not want a civilian neighbor who was homosexual." Just over 19 percent Navy officers agreed with this statement, compared with about 32 percent of Marine Corps officers.

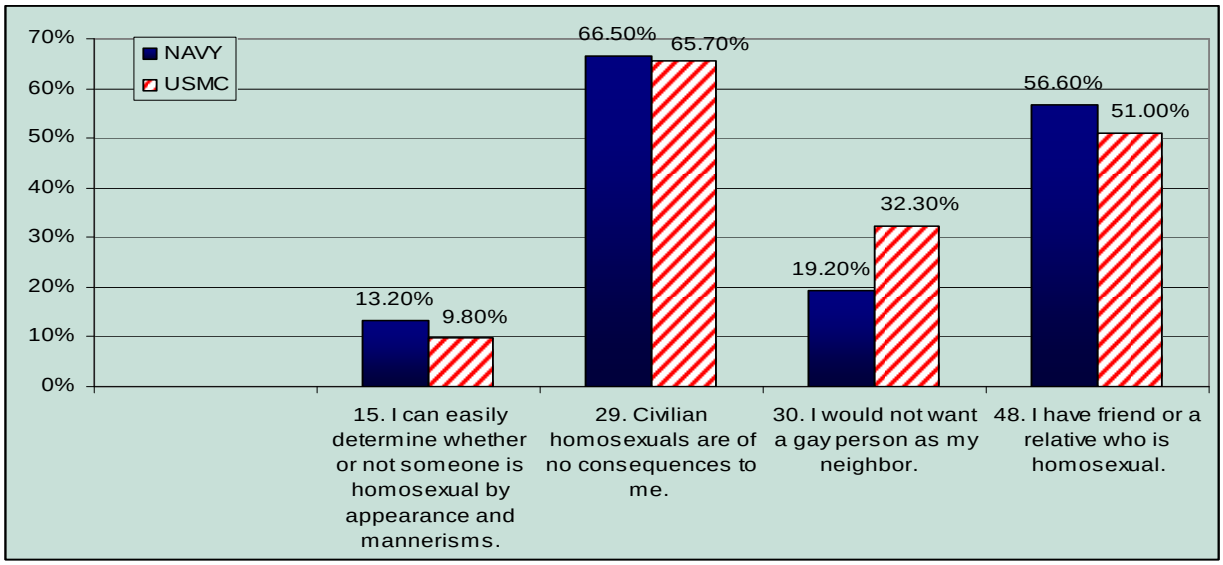


Figure 7. Comparison of Navy and Marine Corps Officers' Attitudes Concerning Homosexual Civilians

7. Navy vs. USMC Attitudes on Homosexuals in a Military Environment

Of the five questions asked in this category, only Question 35 shows a difference in opinion greater than 7 percentage points. On question, stating that "homosexuals could pose a risk to the Navy/Marine Corps," 51 percent of Marine Corps officers agreed; this compares with 39.2 percent of Navy officers. It is also worth noting that 87.3 percent of Marine Corps officers felt that a homosexual's safety or life could be in danger due to the beliefs of others—once again implying that these Marine Corps officers must have some basis for making this claim, and in such a strong and nearly universal voice. Hate crimes are a fact of life, but the Marine Corps is a heavily controlled environment, with applicant screening, periodic performance evaluations, and strict rules of conduct. If the same question were posed to civilians, would nearly nine out ten claim that a homosexual should fear for his or her life due to the beliefs held by others? The strength of responses to this question are disturbing and should be further explored.

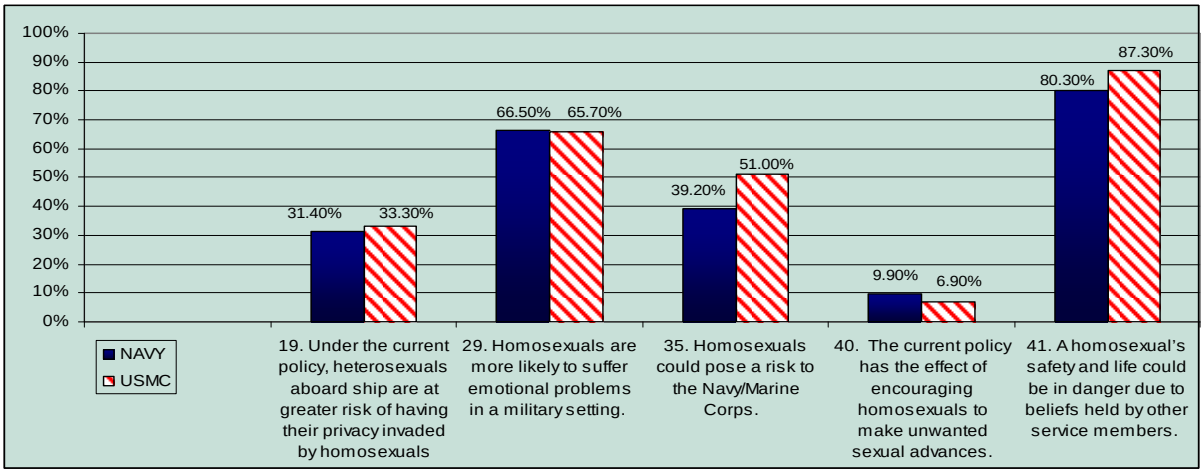


Figure 8. Comparison of Navy and Marine Corps Officers' Attitudes Concerning Homosexual in a Military Environment

D. TREND ANALYSIS OF MARINE CORPS OFFICERS' ATTITUDES 1999 TO 2004

Marine Corps Officers participated in the DADT survey for the first time in 1999. This section uses the baseline responses from the 1999 survey and compares them with responses collected in the 2004 survey to reveal any trends. The same categories employed in previous analyses are used again to organize the questions around themes.

1. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning DADT, 1999 vs. 2004

The attitudes of Marine Corps officers concerning DADT are considered more "tolerant" in 2004 than in 1999. As seen in Figure 9, in 2004, 82.4 percent of Marines believed they could distinguish between sexual conduct and sexual orientation and felt the terms were clearly defined in the policy. This compares with 64.4 percent of respondents in 1999 respondents.

When officers were asked if "accepting homosexuals in the military sends the wrong message to society," 78.4 percent of Marine Corps officers agreed in 1999, whereas 57.8 percent of Marine officers agreed in 2004, a fairly sizable decline of over 20 percentage points.

Marine officers in 2004 answered more favorably (36.3 percent) to "liking the current policy more than old one, on the whole" than did officers who responded in the 1999 survey (20.3 percent). Also, 44.1 percent of Marine respondents in 2004 stated that "the current policy is good for national defense," which is 17 percentage points higher than in 1999.

These findings suggest that Marine Corps officers in 2004, although still preferring the policy that preceded DADT (that is, a complete ban on homosexuals), moved closer toward accepting DADT than did their predecessors in 1999. In a sense, this implies some greater tolerance for gays, arguably, since half of the respondents see the policy as a "positive step" for homosexuals. This would be another good area for more probing analysis.

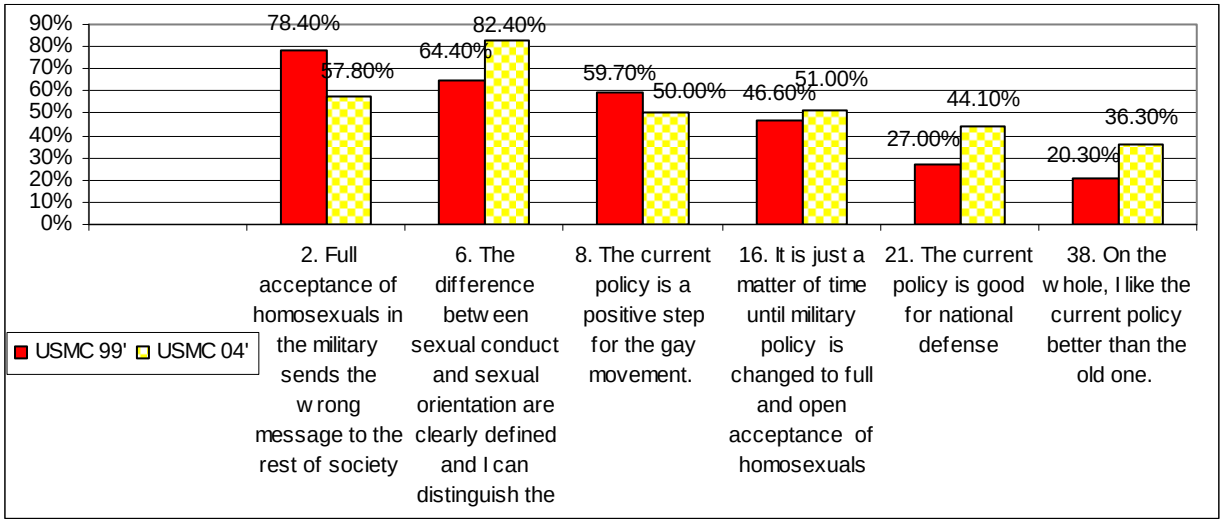


Figure 9. Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning DADT: Comparison of Survey Results from 1999 and 2004

2. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Cohesion, 1999 vs. 2004

Taken as a whole, Marine Corps officers in 2004 were more tolerant of homosexuals serving in the military than were their predecessors in 1999, at least with respect to matters of cohesion. On a personal level, Marine Corps officers continued to express clear opposition toward interacting with homosexuals. As seen in Figure 10, 28.4

percent of Marines in 2004 claimed to have difficulties interacting normally with a homosexual. In 1999, 46 percent of Marine Corps respondents felt the same way.

When trust is involved, nearly 80 percent of Marine Corps officers in 2004 felt that homosexuals could handle secret military documents. This is an increase of 20 percentage points over the level of trust found in 1999.

Although 70.6 percent of Marine Corps officers in 2004 felt that homosexuals in the Marine Corps could adversely affect "good order and discipline," the proportion of Marines thinking this way actually decreased by roughly 15 percentage points from responses recorded in 1999.

A clear majority of Marines in 2004 (58.9 percent) thought homosexuals would interfere with mission accomplishment. This is a decrease of nearly 20 percentage points from the 78.3 percent level found in 1999.

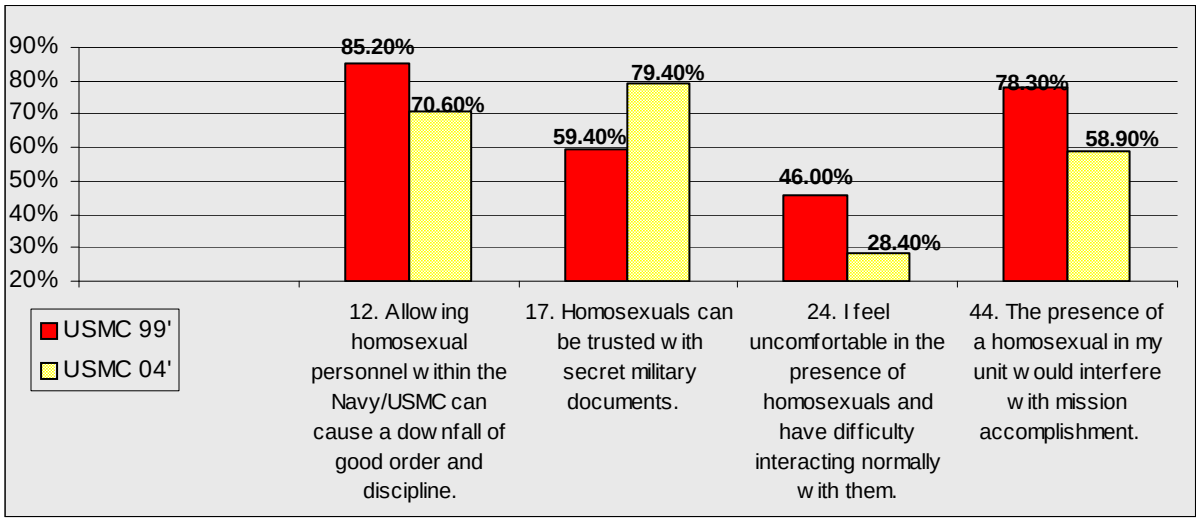


Figure 10. Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Cohesion: Comparison of Survey Results from 1999 and 2004

3. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Leadership, 1999 vs. 2004

Figure 11 shows how the attitudes of Marine Corps officers have changed between 1999 and 2004 concerning military leadership that involves homosexuals. The

apparent trend, once again, indicates that Marine Corps officers in 2004 were more tolerant than their predecessors of 1999 regarding homosexuals who serve in a leadership capacity.

In 1999, only about one in four (26.4 percent) Marine Corps officers claimed that he or she would have no difficulty working for a homosexual CO. By 2004, the proportion was still below half of the respondents, but had increased substantially to 44.1 percent. Thus, although the feeling was still relatively strong against working for a homosexual CO in 2004, a sizable shift in opinion had occurred from the earlier survey.

Half (50 percent) of the respondents in 2004 agreed that a division officer's sexual preference would have no effect on the officer's ability to lead. By comparison, 32.5 percent of respondents in 1999 answered similarly.

In 2004, 70 percent of Marine Corps officers agreed that they "would have no difficulty obeying an order from the Commanding Officer to work with a homosexual co-worker on a difficult/dangerous assignment." Only 44.6 percent of respondents in 1999 stated they would not have any difficulty "obeying an order" in this situation.

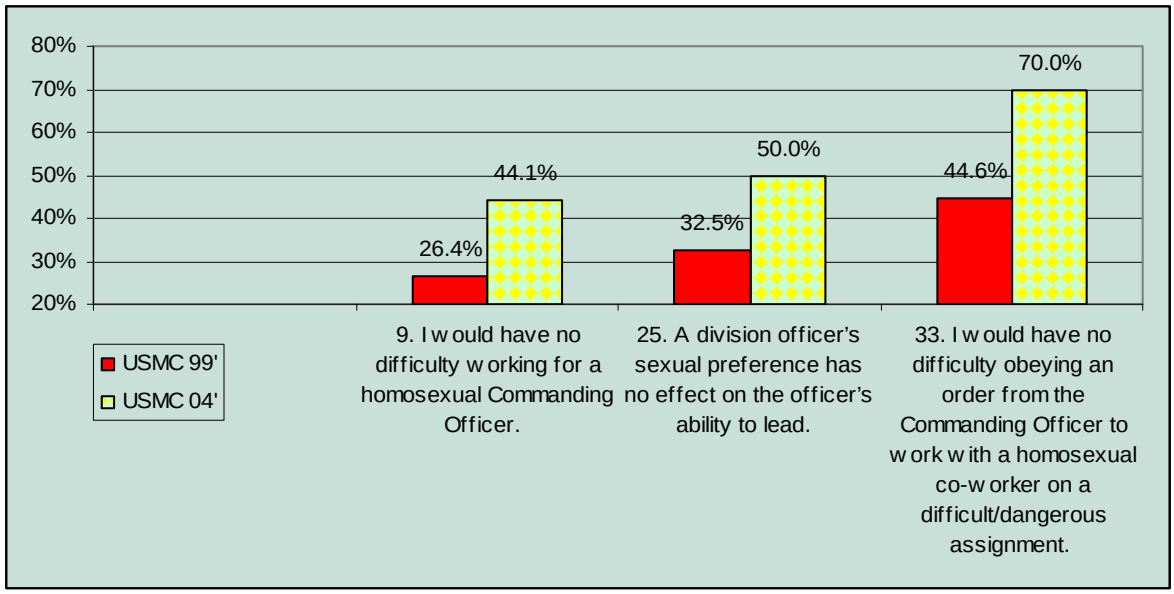
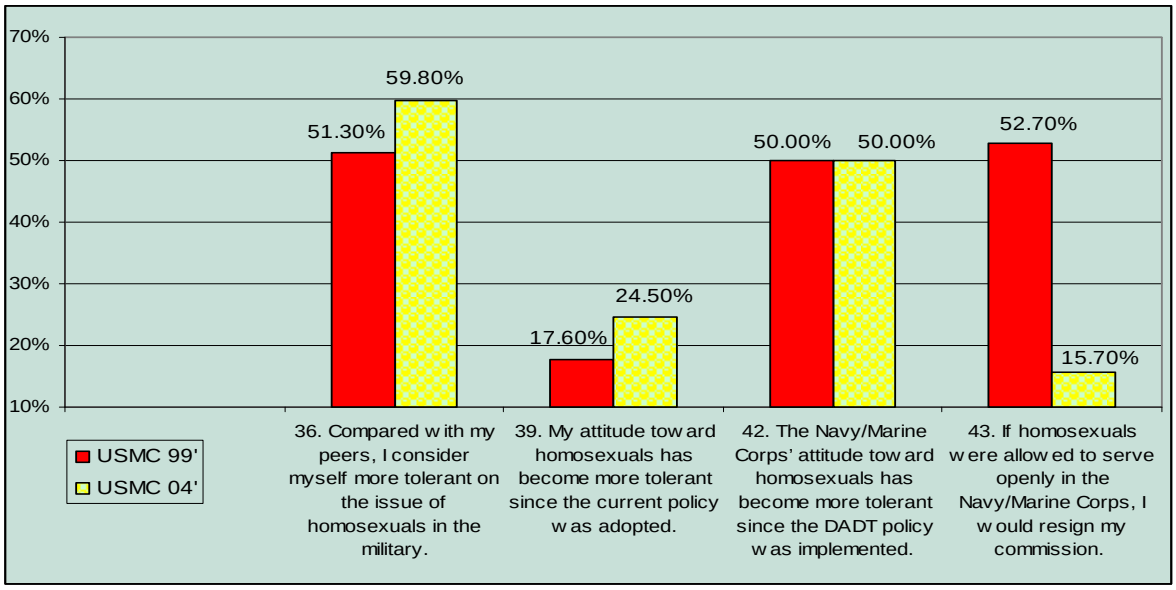


Figure 11. Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Leadership: Comparison of Survey Results from 1999 and 2004

4. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Tolerance, 1999 vs. 2004

Once again, Marine Corps officers in the 2004 survey exhibited a higher degree of tolerance toward homosexuals than did those answering the 1999 survey. The results in Figure 12 show that both groups responded roughly the same regarding the overall outlook of Marines in the Corps. On personal level, Marine Corps officers in 2004 described themselves as being more tolerant: 59.8 percent of respondents in 2004 claimed that, when "compared to their peers, I consider myself more tolerant on the issue of homosexuals in the military"; this compares with 51.3 percent of Marines Corps officers in 1999 who felt the same way. At the same time, 24.5 percent of Marines in 2004 stated that their attitudes toward homosexuals had become more tolerant since the DADT policy was implemented. In 1999, only 17.6 of the Marine respondents answered similarly.

The largest difference in the responses of Marine Corps officers on the two surveys is found for question 43, "If homosexuals were allowed to serve openly, I would resign my commission." In 1999, almost 53 percent of Marine Corps officers claimed that they would resign. By 2004, fewer than 16 percent of Marine Corps officers made the same claim. Even considering the solid opposition found to lifting the ban on homosexuals, it is difficult to believe that the high proportion of Marines making this claim in the first survey was anything more than "a strong statement," unlikely to result in a mass exodus of officers who were deeply devoted to their service and to their nation.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USMC 99'
USMC 04'
36. Compared with my peers, I consider myself more tolerant on the issue of homosexuals in the military.
39. My attitude toward homosexuals has become more tolerant since the current policy was adopted.
42. The Navy/Marine Corps' attitude toward homosexuals has become more tolerant since the DADT policy was implemented.
43. If homosexuals were allowed to serve openly in the Navy/Marine Corps, I would resign my commission.

Figure 12. Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Tolerance: Comparison of Survey Results from 1999 and 2004

5. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Off-Duty Activities, 1999 vs. 2004

As seen in Figure 13, only about one in five Marine Corps officers in both surveys claim to know a homosexual service member. However, as noted previously, considering that such knowledge constitutes a violation of DADT (i.e., that "knowledge" implies some level of "openness" regarding homosexual preference), this should be considered fairly significant.

A majority of Marine Corps officers in both surveys do not believe that marching in a gay parade or socializing in a gay bar constitutes sexual orientation or misconduct, respectively. The level of disagreement with the statements for each of these was noticeably stronger in 2004 than in 1999. At the same time, it is interesting to observe that proportionately more Marine Corps officers in 2004 than in 1999 felt that they should investigate a report of same-sex hand-holding in a movie theater. As it turns out, DADT draws no distinction between "misconduct" on-duty or off-duty, so the officers in 2004 would actually be more in line with the letter of the law.

Consequently, one could conclude from this comparison that, even though the Marine Corps officers in both surveys exhibit some lack of understanding regarding

DADT, the officers in 2004 are probably more knowledgeable. The only other difference of note is the slight shift on question 10, "lawful off-duty sexual activity is of no concern to me," where proportionately more officers in 2004 (66.7 percent) agreed with the statement than did those in 1999 (63 percent).

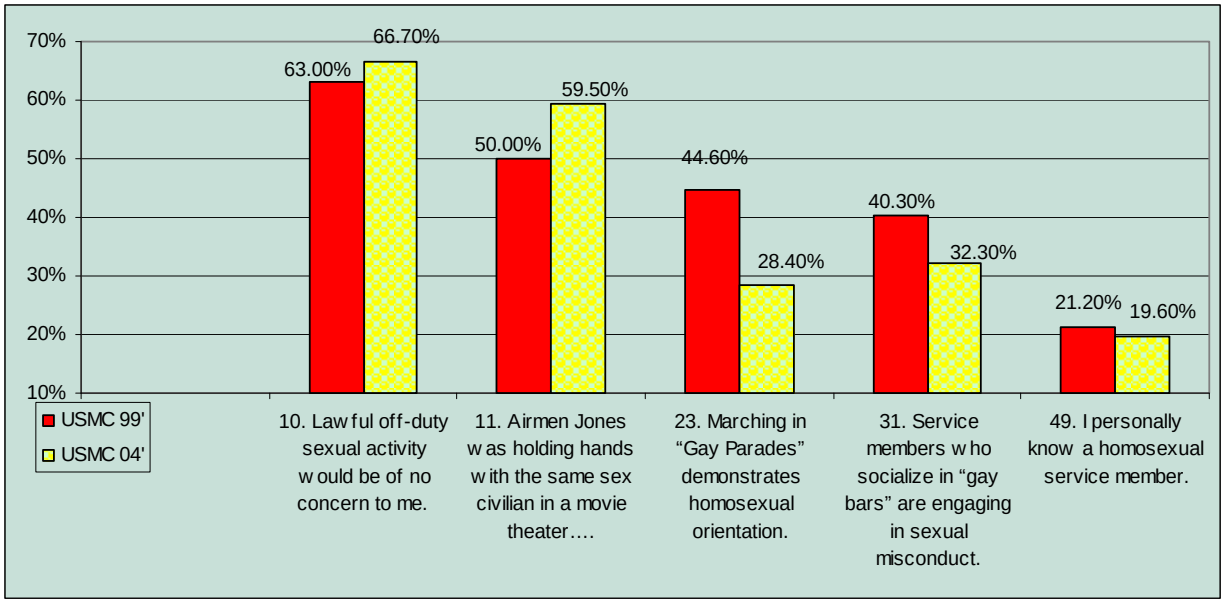


Figure 13. Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Off-Duty Activities: Comparison of Survey Results from 1999 and 2004

6. Trend Analysis: Marine Corps Officers' Attitudes 1999 to 2004 concerning Homosexual Civilians

Yet again, the comparison of responses to questions in this category suggest that levels of tolerance toward homosexuals increased from the 1999 survey to that administered in 2004. As seen in Figure 14, over half of the Marine Corps officers in 2004 (51 percent) stated that they had a friend or relative who was homosexual; this is about 9 percentage points higher than in 1999 (41.9 percent). Similarly, in 2004, about one in three (32.3 percent) Marine Corps officers claimed that they would not want a gay person as a neighbor; in 1999, the proportion of Marines making the same claim was closer to one in two (46 percent).

There is the belief that individuals who have homosexual relatives or friends may be more understanding of the lifestyle and would be more accepting of them serving in

the Armed Forces. When both groups were asked if "civilian homosexuals were of any concern to them" individually, both groups answered nearly equally: 65.7 percent in 2004 and 63.5 percent in 1999. Given the shift in attitudes on the other questions in this category, one might expect an even higher proportion of officers in 2004 agreeing that civilian homosexuals were of "no concern." On the other hand, it could be that the proportion from the 1999 survey is unexpectedly high, especially since 46 percent of those respondents "would not want a gay person as a neighbor," and assuming that the gay person would be a civilian.

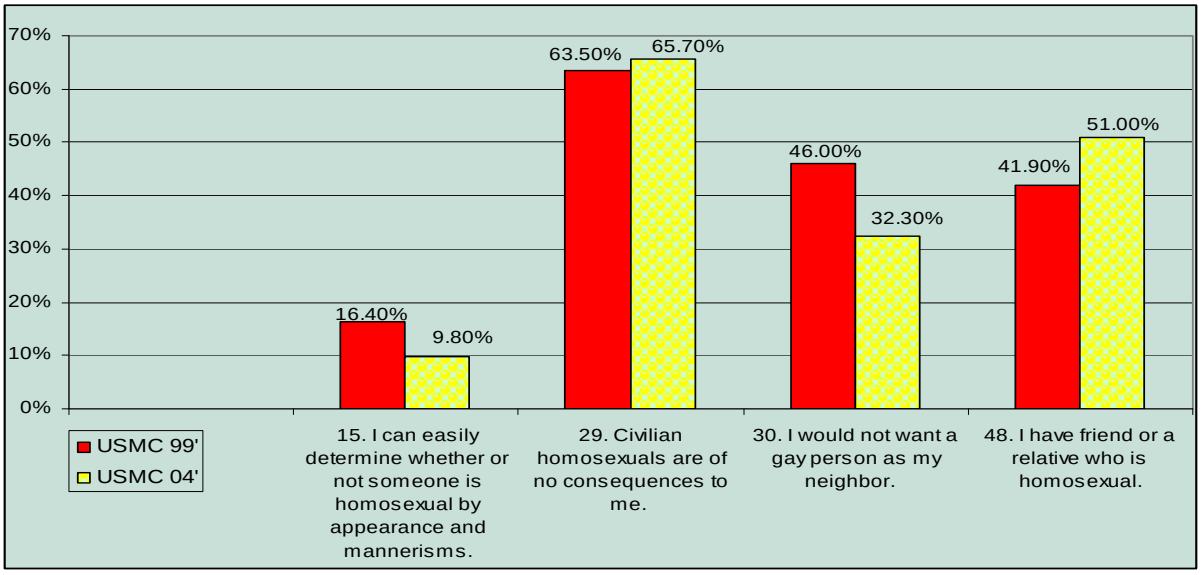


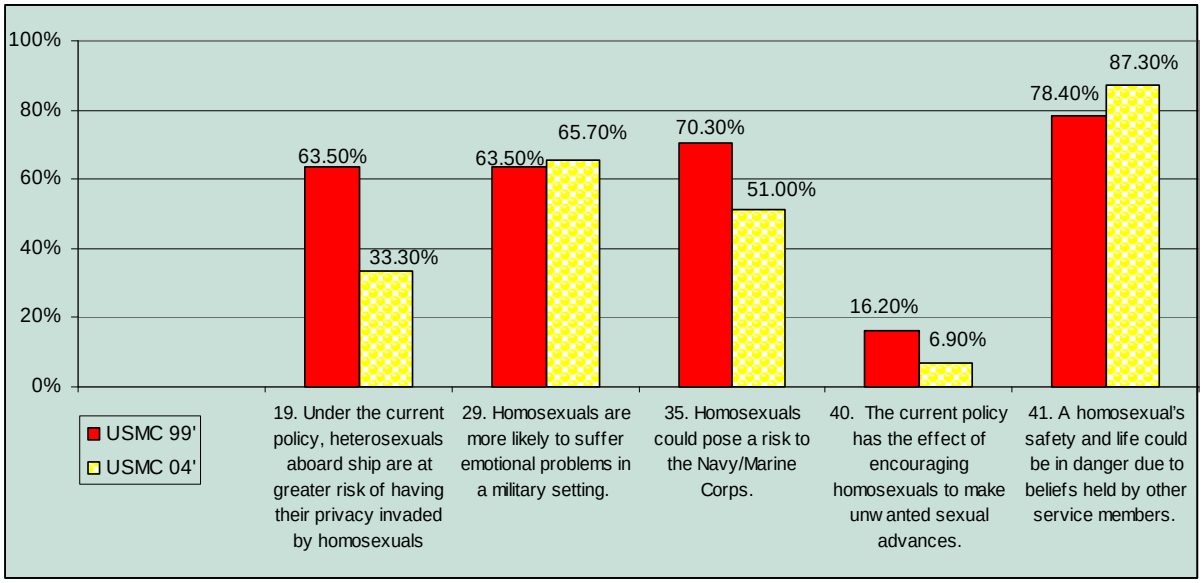
Figure 14. Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Homosexual Civilians: Comparison of Survey Results from 1999 and 2004

7. Trend Analysis: Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Homosexuals in a Military Environment, 1999 vs. 2004

As seen in Figure 15, questions 29 and 41 ask about the effect military life would have on a homosexual, emotionally and in terms of safety, respectively. In both questions, Marines in 2004 agreed with the statement more than did those in the 1999 survey. For example, 65.7 percent of Marine Corps officers in 2004 felt that homosexuals would suffer emotional problems in the military, while 63.5 percent of the 1999 respondents held a similar opinion. At the same time, 87.3 percent of Marine Corps officers in 2004 felt that homosexuals might be in danger in the military, compared with

78.4 percent of Marines feeling the same way in 1999. It is not clear how to interpret this trend. However, if one assumes that levels of tolerance are higher in 2004 than in 1999, the differences could reflect a slightly greater concern for the personal wellbeing of homosexuals who might serve openly in the Marine Corps.

This interpretation could be supported by the differences in response found for questions 19 and 40. In 2004, 33.3 percent of Marine Corps officers felt DADT had resulted in a greater loss of privacy aboard a ship, in contrast to 63.5 percent of Marines in 1999. Additionally, in 2004, only 6.9 percent of Marine Corps officers felt the current policy would encourage homosexuals to make sexual advances toward heterosexuals; by comparison, 16.2 percent of Marine Corps officers agreed with the statement in 1999.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6.90%
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87.30%
USMC 99'
USMC 04'
19. Under the current policy, heterosexuals aboard ship are at greater risk of having their privacy invaded by homosexuals
29. Homosexuals are more likely to suffer emotional problems in a military setting.
35. Homosexuals could pose a risk to the Navy/Marine Corps.
40. The current policy has the effect of encouraging homosexuals to make unwanted sexual advances.
41. A homosexual's safety and life could be in danger due to beliefs held by other service members.

Figure 15. Attitudes of Marine Corps Officers Concerning Homosexuals in a Military Environment: Comparison of Survey Results from 1999 and 2004

E. TREND ANALYSIS OF SPECIFIC DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS TOWARD HOMOSEXUALS IN THE MILITARY, 2004

This final section of the chapter examines the survey results by two demographic categories of interest: pay grade and time-in-service (TIS). Each of the demographic categories is compared using questions from the seven "population" categories (policy, cohesion, etc.) to ensure that each category is represented in the cross-tabulations.

1. Pay Grade

The officers who responded to the 2004 survey ranged in pay grade from O-1 through O-5. No respondents were in the O-6 pay grade. Pay grade characterizes the specific rank the respondent holds. Pay grade corresponds, in general, to a particular level of management, leadership, and authority assigned to an officer. In the Navy, for example, those at the grade of O-1 and O-2 are junior officers who are developing leadership and management skills as division officers. Those at the grade of O-3 are seasoned junior officers who have developed the technical, leadership, and management skills to run a division or department proficiently. Those at the grade of O-4 generally work at the department-head level and have mastered leadership and management qualities. Finally, those at the grade of O-5 are commonly command-level leaders who oversee entire units and direct policy at the command or unit level.

Figure 16 shows the responses of officers according to their pay grade. As seen here, O-1 respondents appear to exhibit the least tolerance toward homosexuals, officers in pay grades O-2 and O-3 show an increase in tolerance, and respondents in O-4 and O-5 show a decreased level of tolerance, which is similar to that found for persons in pay grade O-1.

Generally, the data suggest that mid-tier junior officers in 2004 were the most tolerant toward homosexuals in the military. For example, question 24 states, “I feel uncomfortable in the presence of homosexuals and have difficulty interacting normally with them.” The most-junior respondents, at pay grade O-1, and the most senior respondents, at pay grade O-5, were proportionately highest in agreeing with this statement (at 39.4 percent and 45.5 percent, respectively).

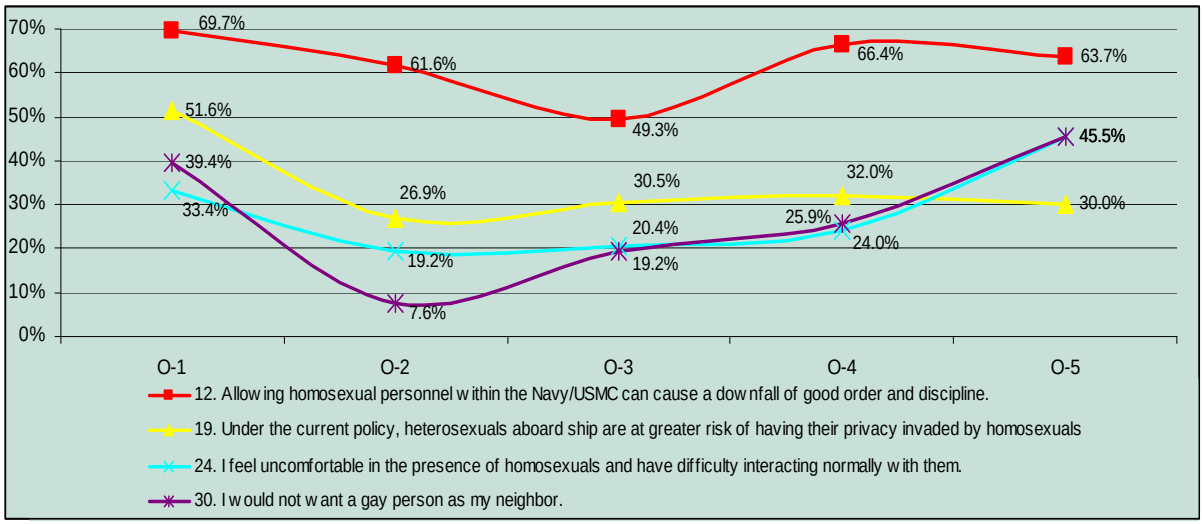

Figure 16. Pay Grade Demographic Cross-Tabulation 1

Figure 17 presents additional questions used to cross examine the pay-grade demographic. As seen here, the most junior and senior officers exhibit the least tolerance, while the mid-tier ranking officers show the highest tolerance.

On the statement in question 48, "I have a friend or relative who is homosexual," officers with the most-senior rank (O-5) responded with the highest proportion of agreement (81.8 percent) among those in all pay grades. This might conflict with the notion that persons who have a homosexual friend or relative would be more familiar with the homosexual lifestyle and, as a result, would be more apt to accept homosexuals in the military. On the other hand, older persons in general would be more likely to have had more friends and acquaintances over the course of their life. At the same time, the most-junior officers (O-1) had the lowest proportion (36.4 percent) of those who claimed to have a friend or relative who is homosexual. The theory is that persons who do not have a homosexual friend or relative (lower contact and less understanding) would be less tolerant toward homosexuals. The responses of the most-junior officers (O-1) would actually support this, where the combination of answers in Figures 14 and 15 show officers at this pay grade as the least tolerant among all officers.

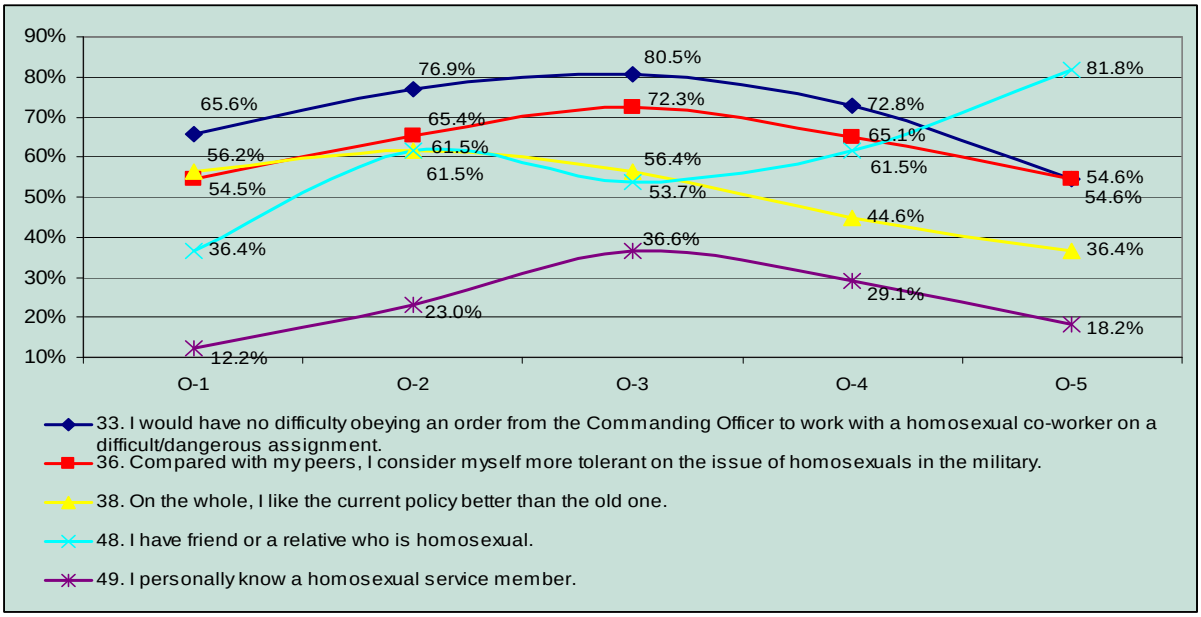

Figure 17. Pay Grade Demographic Cross-Tabulation 2.

2. Time-in-Service

"Time-in-Service" (TIS) represents the number of years an individual has served in the military. TIS thus shows the level of experience a service member has on active duty. TIS doesn't always correlate with a specific pay grade. For instance, if an officer were to earn a commission directly from college, the individual would commonly be an O-3 in four years, an O-4 in 10 years, and an O-5 in 14-16 years of service. However, some respondents have actually enlisted in the Navy or Marine Corps prior to their commission. As a result, an individual with 16 years of service, a "seasoned veteran" by all accounts, may only be an O-1 or O-3.

The TIS demographic measures the years of service (2-5, 6-9, 10-12, 14-16, 16-20, and 20 or more years) the respondent had attained at the time of the survey in 2004. The purpose of using this demographic is to identify a particular level of experience, leadership, and understanding of the military culture one would expect from an individual with the corresponding TIS.

Figure 18 shows the results of the cross-tabulation, using identical questions as those in Figure 15. By and large, personnel with less than nine years of service are more

tolerant toward homosexuals than are individuals with more time in service. As seen in Figure 18, respondents with 6 to 9 years of TIS are also relatively more tolerant. Further research should seek to explore if attitudes related to TIS are more influenced by generational factors than by experience while serving in the military.

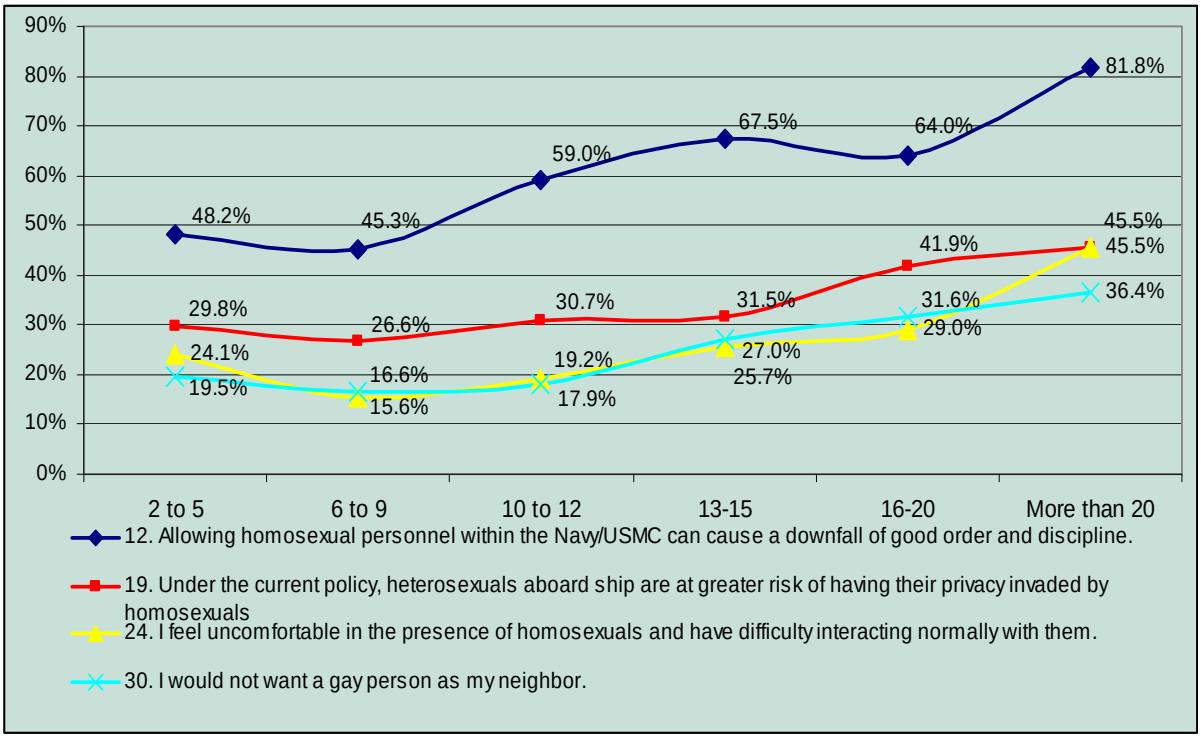

Figure 18. Time-in-Service Cross Tabulation

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. CONCLUSIONS

The results of the survey conducted at the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) in 2004 show that Navy and Marine Corps officers who responded to the survey were divided on whether the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) policy is effective. Generally, a majority of Navy officers in 2004 felt that DADT was "better" than the previous policy; yet, fewer than half of these officers agreed that DADT was "good for national defense." Additionally, slightly over half of the Navy officers believed in 2004 that allowing homosexuals to serve in the Navy could cause the "downfall of good order and discipline," a key factor (or catchall consideration) in explaining why DADT was originally enacted. This particular question is a good barometer of changing attitudes toward allowing homosexuals to serve openly in the military. In 1994, when Navy officers at NPS were initially surveyed, nearly 80 percent (and 50 percent indicating "*strongly* agree") felt that the presence of homosexuals would cause a downfall of "good order and discipline"; by 1996, the proportion of officers agreeing with this statement had declined to about 67 percent; by 1999, the proportion had again fallen to just under 60 percent. Further, the same trend of declining agreement or support is found on other questions that address the main reasons for instituting DADT and banning homosexuals from serving openly in the military.

Along with this changing attitude toward the reasons for having DADT is a noticeable, continuing increase in the levels of tolerance for homosexuality generally and for the presence of homosexuals in the military. Several questions were included in the four surveys to explore attitudes that might correlate with what is called "tolerance," although it is clear that the concept and application are far more complicated than developed for the present study. Nevertheless, in evaluating attitudes toward homosexuals in at least three contexts—on a personal level, in the civilian environment, and in the military environment—acceptance of homosexuals appears to have risen over the course of the four surveys. Previous studies of NPS survey data on this

topic have highlighted the same effect, particularly the Master's thesis by Bicknell, which examined trends and results from the 1999 survey.[55]

The reasons for increasing levels of tolerance are speculative, although there is some evidence that they are tied to the so-called "contact hypothesis," first introduced by Gordon Allport.[56] This hypothesis basically suggests that increased contact between groups (in this case, heterosexual officers having more direct contact with a homosexual either within or outside the military) improves mutual understanding and acceptance. Thus, for example, stereotypes are discarded, as seen in several questions on the surveys. Support for this notion regarding contact can be found in the 2004 survey and the answers to several questions. For instance, proportionately more Navy officers in the 2004 survey claim to have a friend or relative who is homosexual; and over one-third of the respondents stated that they personally knew a homosexual service member. When asked if the respondent considered himself or herself more or less tolerant than peers on the issue of homosexuals in the military, 70 percent of the Navy respondents in 2004 felt they were "more tolerant." This was about the same proportion found in 1999, but higher than in 1996 or 1994.

As might be expected, although levels of tolerance have apparently increased over time among Navy officers in the four studies, a number of surveys conducted outside the military suggest that acceptance of homosexuals by Navy officers is still well below levels found for the general public. Perhaps an even more revealing evaluation of the changing tolerance found for Navy officers would be a closer look at the strength of agreement or disagreement shown in answers to questions on the survey. Detailed analysis regarding the strength of agreement or disagreement—ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree—was beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, a more detailed examination of the responses, as seen in Appendix A, indicates that the strength or intensity of opinions have clearly shifted on questions that relate to tolerance. This would suggest that the observed trend among Navy officers is likely to continue

[55] Bicknell, *Study of Naval Officers' Attitudes*.

[56] See Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954.

even more toward increased tolerance over time, as officers who appear less tolerant seem to be shifting toward views that are less intensely expressed.

Trend data on the attitudes of Marine Corps officers were limited to just two data points, the 2004 survey and the preceding survey in 1999. If two surveys separated by four or five years are enough to show a "trend," the same conclusions discussed above for Navy officers would apply to officers from the Marine Corps who participated in the survey. The directions of changing attitudes are similar. The major difference between the results for the Marine Corps sample and that of the Navy obviously relate to the nature, degree, and intensity of views on the given topics. In some ways, as the study of results from the 1999 survey concluded, the responses of Marine Corps officers in 2004 are similar to the responses of Navy officers from earlier times. Given the differences in service missions and culture, as well as the characteristics and prevailing views of officers who elect to be a part of that environment, one should not be surprised to find that Marine Corps officers are somewhat more resistant than Navy officers to what is seen as a major change. The Marine Corps is a smaller, tightly-knit service that places high value on tradition. Thus, it is far less surprising to find differences between Navy and Marine Corps officers in, say, intensity of views on the present topic than it is to find a similar movement toward increased tolerance and acceptance of change. It is also interesting to note that, in each of the comparative studies, Navy and Marine officers alike revealed greater tolerance on an individual basis (that is, they themselves are more accepting of homosexuals), than in speaking on behalf of the organization or for others who may not be as tolerant. Indeed, in some cases, one gets the sense that opposition to having homosexuals serving openly in the military is "for their own safety and wellbeing."

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Survey Population

The present study was limited to officers at NPS. These officers are a select group of leaders from the Navy and Marine Corps, so their opinions are considered valuable.

Still, these views may not represent those of other officers in the Navy or Marine Corps, and are even less likely to reflect the attitudes of all men and women in these services.

Studies of the attitudes of service members toward removing DADT from *within* the military are few and far between. This lack of information has been intentional. For years, many believed that even asking military members about this issue would create potential problems and revive old controversies. Perhaps the time has come to change this approach. For example, the present study of NPS officers could be expanded to include fleet sailors, who represent the majority of the Navy. This study could include extended work-related demographics that would identify trends in different working communities. Recruits at Recruit Training Command, Great Lakes, Illinois, should also be afforded the opportunity to complete this survey. This might help to establish a baseline of information on the attitudes of young people currently entering the Navy. A cohort-type trend analysis, or longitudinal survey, could then follow these sailors to see how their attitudes toward homosexuals change as they progress through the ranks and develop experience and leadership skills within the Navy.

A similar type of survey could also be conducted in other military services, including the Army, Air Force, and Coast Guard, to determine independently how views in the Navy and Marine Corps compare with those of personnel in the other services.

2. Survey Design

The design of the present survey limited the range of answers available to respondents. For continuity with the three previous surveys, the 2004 instrument was deliberately designed to keep the vast majority of survey items intact. Nonetheless, many comments were submitted by respondents who preferred to have a "N/A" or "not observed" as one of the selections for responding. Anecdotal evidence suggests that "forced choice" on certain questions may have even resulted in losing some potential respondents. Further, some of the survey questions could be revised to better reflect present-day issues and matters and to remove questions that are redundant. At the same time, the questions on demographic characteristics could be expanded to include some of the following: part of country or metropolitan area in which the respondent was raised,

marital status, whether respondent has children, activities of interest (such as sports, outdoor or indoor activities), and other background factors that could provide greater insight regarding the nature and intensity of views on this topic. Further, providing a section for comments to selected questions would allow respondents to offer remarks more specifically aimed at issues of special interest. Respondents might be more inclined to leave a comment—and provide a revealing insight—when the option to discuss their answer more fully is located next to the otherwise "canned" choice of answers.

The process of gathering data through focus groups, similar to the format employed in NPS studies conducted by Theresa Rea and Margaret Friery, would also provide further information about particular answers and in-depth views that may not be brought to light through a survey alone. Obviously, expanded explanations to questions are often too lengthy for a comment box or within a standard survey, and respondents may not be willing or able to convey their "deeper feelings" or thoughts through a medium that restricts space as well as the ability to express emotion.

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APPENDIX A. SURVEY RESPONSE FREQUENCIES

This appendix shows the response frequencies for the surveys conducted in 1994, 1996, 1999, and 2004 for research on the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' policy at NPS. Items in **bold** represent findings in the 2004 study. Percentages found in tables are combined scores of Strongly Agree with Agree and Disagree with Strongly Disagree.

1. **I have read the Privacy Act Statement and understand the content of this survey[57].**
2. **Full and open acceptance of homosexuals in the military sends the wrong message to the rest of society**.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**21.9%**	**24.3%**	**36.2%**	**17.4%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 215)	32.6%	26.5%	26.1%	14.9%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	43.1%	22.7%	24.7%	9.4%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	52.9%	20.0%	18.8%	8.3%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**34.3%**	**23.5%**	**29.4%**	**11.8%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	56.8%	21.6%	12.2%	9.5%

3. I would prefer not to have homosexuals in my command.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**23.1%**	**31.4%**	**33.5%**	**11.7%**
1999 (Navy)[a] (n = 215)	37.2%	29.3%	23.7%	9.8%
1996 (Navy)[b] (n = 306)	46.1%	31.6%	15.8%	6.4%
1994 (Navy)[c] (n = 605)	55.5%	26.7%	11.2%	6.6%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**42.2%**	**27.5%**	**23.5%**	**6.9%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 74)	64.9%	23.0%	6.8%	5.4%

4. Homosexuals are probably born that way.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**9.9%**	**43.1%**	**28.4%**	**18.3%**
1999 (Navy)[a] (n = 214)	8.9%	31.3%	29.4%	30.4%
1996 (Navy)[b] (n = 306)	10.3%	26.1%	36.4%	27.1%
1994 (Navy)[c] (n = 605)	8.8%	23.8%	38.5%	28.9%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**15.7%**	**29.4%**	**25.5%**	**27.5%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 72)	4.2%	30.6%	31.9%	33.3%

[57] In order for all respondents to acknowledge that the privacy act statement was read, question 1 of the survey was required to be answered in order to proceed to the following questions in the survey.

5. Homosexual orientation is learned through society interaction and can be changed by will.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy)	**(n = 334)**	**9.3%**	**30.5%**	**47.6%**	**12.3%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 213)	17.8%	27.2%	40.4%	14.6%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	12.9%	32.5%	42.4%	12.2%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	19.7%	32.0%	36.8%	11.5%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**17.6%**	**29.4%**	**36.3%**	**15.7%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 73)	19.2%	31.5%	41.1%	8.2%

6. The difference between sexual conduct and sexual orientation are clearly defined and I can distinguish the two.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy)	**(n = 334)**	**36.2%**	**48.8%**	**12.0%**	**2.4%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 216)	46.3%	39.4%	10.7%	3.7%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	40.7%	34.4%	17.5%	7.3%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	33.9%	33.6%	22.0%	10.5%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**30.4%**	**52.0%**	**14.7%**	**2.9%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 73)	26.0%	38.4%	24.7%	11.0%

7. Our most senior uniformed military leaders shaped the present policy.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)		**9.6%**	**38.0%**	**40.1%**	**12.0%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 210)	9.1%	27.6%	36.2%	27.1%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	10.0%	24.1%	38.1%	27.8%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	8.0%	28.4%	35.6%	28.0%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**7.8%**	**31.4%**	**44.1%**	**15.7%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 74)	8.1%	24.3%	37.8%	29.7%

8. The current policy is a positive step for the gay movement.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)		**3.9%**	**43.4%**	**44.6%**	**7.2%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 212)	9.4%	50.5%	34.0%	6.1%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	14.5%	47.5%	29.3%	8.8%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	16.7%	50.0%	23.3%	10.0%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**4.9%**	**45.1%**	**35.3%**	**10.8%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 72)	19.4%	40.3%	31.9%	8.3%

9. I would have no difficulty working for a homosexual Commanding Officer.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)		**17.4%**	**43.1%**	**24.6%**	**14.7%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 214)	13.1%	29.4%	29.0%	28.5%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	8.3%	28.9%	28.6%	34.2%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	10.0%	20.4%	24.8%	44.8%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**13.7%**	**30.4%**	**28.4%**	**26.5%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 72)	8.3%	18.1%	27.8%	45.8%

10. Lawful off-duty sexual activity would be of no concern to me.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy)	**(n = 334)**	**29.0%**	**53.3%**	**12.3%**	**4.5%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 213)	36.2%	45.5%	10.8%	7.5%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	26.4%	45.2%	17.4%	11.0%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	29.3%	40.7%	16.0%	14.0%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**25.5%**	**41.2%**	**16.7%**	**15.7%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 73)	21.9%	41.1%	24.7%	12.3%

11. As a department head, you receive a report from Seaman Smith that Airman Jones was holding hands with the same sex civilian in a movie theater. It is your responsibility to investigate this activity.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)		**7.5%**	**24.6%**	**55.1%**	**12.9%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 213)	8.9%	22.5%	49.8%	18.8%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	10.4%	25.1%	45.2%	19.4%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	13.4%	30.4%	39.2%	17.0%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**17.6%**	**33.3%**	**39.2%**	**7.8%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 74)	14.9%	35.1%	35.1%	14.9%

12. Allowing homosexual personnel within the Navy can cause the downfall of good order and discipline.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)		**19.8%**	**31.7%**	**40.4%**	**7.5%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 214)	29.4%	29.4%	28.5%	12.6%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	31.9%	34.6%	24.3%	9.3%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	49.5%	29.3%	14.0%	7.0%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**37.3%**	**33.3%**	**18.6%**	**10.8%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 74)	48.7%	36.5%	9.5%	5.4%

13. Homosexuality is a medical/psychological anomaly that can be changed to heterosexual preference through treatment.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)		**4.2%**	**16.5%**	**54.5%**	**23.7%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 20B)	7.2%	15.9%	49.5%	27.4%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	6.8%	18.8%	48.6%	25.7%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	9.3%	21.3%	45.0%	24.4%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**2.0%**	**19.6%**	**47.1%**	**29.4%**
1999 (USMC}[a]	(n = 71)	9.9%	22.5%	45.1% 2	2.5%

14. If a service member tells a superior that he or she has a homosexual orientation, this is equivalent to sexual misconduct.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)		**4.5%**	**18.0%**	**60.2%**	**16.8%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 214)	7.5%	22.4%	47.2%	22.9%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	10.0%	22.6%	45.5%	21.9%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	9.4%	17.3%	52.7%	20.6%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**5.9%**	**19.6%**	**51.0%**	**23.5%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 74)	14.9%	24.3%	44.6%	16.2%

15. I can easily determine whether or not someone is homosexual by appearance and mannerisms.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)		**0.9%**	**12.3%**	**62.3%**	**23.7%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 213)	1.4%	9.4%	63.9%	25.4%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	1.7%	8.0%	59.9%	30.4%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	1.4%	9.4%	58.5%	30.7%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**0.0%**	**9.8%**	**58.8%**	**31.4%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 73)	2.7%	13.7%	57.5%	26.0%

16. It is just a matter of time until mi1itary policy is changed to fu11 and open acceptance of homosexua1s.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)		**10.2%**	**46.7%**	**33.8%**	**9.0%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n ~ 214)	12.2%	47.2%	34.6%	6.1%
1996 (Navy}[b]	(n = 306)	12.2%	44.2%	30.7%	12.9%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	11.9%	36.6%	34.4%	17.2%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)		**8.8%**	**42.2%**	**33.3%**	**15.7%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 73)	13.7%	32.9%	38.4%	15.1%

17. Homosexuals can be trusted with secret military documents.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy)	**(n = 334)**	**29.3%**	**59.3%**	**8.1%**	**3.0%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 214)	27.6%	55.6%	9.8%	7.0%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	22.1%	57.5%	11.7%	8.7%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	19.6%	50.8%	20.2%	9.4%
2004 (USMC)	**(n = 102)**	**28.4%**	**51.0%**	**10.8%**	**4.9%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 74)	21.6%	37.8%	28.4%	12.2%

18. The current policy protects the rights of all sailors regardless of sexual orientation.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy)	**(n = 334)**	**7.8%**	**46.1%**	**38.0%**	**7.8%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 213)	8.0%	47.4%	31.5%	13.2%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	6.8%	43.6%	34.8%	14.9%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	6.5%	29.0%	41.9%	22.6%
2004 (USMC)	**(n = 102)**	**8.8%**	**51.0%**	**35.3%**	**4.9%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 74)	10.8%	54.1%	23.0%	12.2%

19. Under the current policy, heterosexuals aboard ships are at greater risk of having their privacy invaded by homosexuals.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy)	**(n = 334)**	**6.0%**	**25.4%**	**50.3%**	**18.0%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 213)	16.0%	28.2%	40.4%	15.5%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	18.0%	32.7%	38.3%	11.0%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	23.8%	38.0%	29.0%	9.2%
2004 (USMC)	**(n = 102)**	**10.8%**	**22.5%**	**49.0%**	**15.7%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 74)	32.4%	31.1%	31.1%	5.4%

20. Homosexuals are more 1ikely to suffer emotional problems in a military setting.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy)	**(n = 334)**	**12.6%**	**47.9%**	**32.3%**	**6.6%**
1999 (Navy)[a]	(n = 213)	15.0%	41.3%	33.8%	9.9%
1996 (Navy)[b]	(n = 306)	20.2%	42.8%	32.0%	5.1%
1994 (Navy)[c]	(n = 605)	24.4%	41.7%	27.8%	6.1%
2004 (USMC)	**(n = 102)**	**13.7%**	**48.0%**	**28.4%**	**7.8%**
1999 (USMC)[a]	(n = 74)	21.6%	37.8%	32.4%	8.1%

21. The current policy is good for national defense.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**4.5%**	**41.6%**	**44.6%**	**8.1%**
1999 (Navy}[a](n = 213)	3.3%	32.4%	40.9%	23.5%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	4.7%	24.9%	43.1%	27.3%
1994 (Navy}[c](n = 605)	2.6%	15.4%	36.4%	45.6%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**5.9%**	**38.2%**	**37.3%**	**16.7%**
1999 (USMC)[d] (n = 74}	5.4%	21.6%	36.5%	36.5%

22. People are either heterosexually or homosexually oriented.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**6.3%**	**32.0%**	**54.5%**	**6.6%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 211)	8.5%	32.7%	45.0%	13.7%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306}	8.4%	25.8%	52.5%	13.4%
1994 (Navy}[c](n = 605)	9.8%	30.8%	47.7%	11.7%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**7.8%**	**38.2%**	**48.0%**	**3.9%**
1999 (USMC}[a] (n = 74)	6.8%	44.6%	39.2%	9.5%

23. Marching in "Gay Parades" demonstrates homosexual orientation.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**5.7%**	**17.1%**	**61.7%**	**15.0%**
1999 (Navy}[a](n = 215)	6.5%	19.5%	59.1%	14.9%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	12.9%	25.5%	51.3%	10.3%
1994 (Navy}[c](n = 605)	15.8%	23.7%	48.0%	12.5%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**7.8%**	**27.5%**	**48.0%**	**15.7%**
1999 (USMC}[a] (n = 74)	14.9%	29.7%	43.2%	12.2%

24. I feel uncomfortab1e in the presence of homosexua1s and have difficulty interacting normally with them.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**4.2%**	**16.8%**	**56.6%**	**22.5%**
1999 (Navy}[a](n = 214} 7.9%	28.5%	45.8%	17.8%	
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306) 10.3%	33.9%	44.9%	11.0%	
1994 (Navy}[c](n = 605) 17.8%	40.0%	34.7%	7.5%	
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**4.9%**	**23.5%**	**54.9%**	**16.7%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 74}	12.2%	33.8%	46.0%	8.1%

25. A division officer's sexual preference has no effect on the officer's abi1ity to lead.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**21.0%**	**42.5%**	**26.6%**	**9.9%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 215)	19.5%	36.3%	27.4%	16.7%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	12.9%	40.3%	32.0%	14.9%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 60S)	11.9%	26.4%	32.5%	29.2%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**17.6%**	**32.4%**	**30.4%**	**19.6%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 74)	6.8%	25.7%	33.8%	33.8%

26. The current policy wi11 have more impact on the enlisted members than on the officers.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**2.1%**	**32.9%**	**53.9%**	**11.1%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 214)	7.9%	31.3%	46.3%	14.5%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	8.4%	27.2%	48.3%	16.1%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	16.4%	25.8%	39.7%	18.1%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**2.0%**	**30.4%**	**49.0%**	**15.7%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 74)	5.4%	20.3%	5.5%	14.9%

27. Homosexuals should not be restricted from serving anywhere in the Navy.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**15.6%**	**34.1%**	**30.5%**	**18.6%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 212)	14.2%	25.0%	30.2%	30.7%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	10.6%	25.2%	31.1%	33.1%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	9.9%	14.7%	24.9%	50.5%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**3.9%**	**7.8%**	**50.0%**	**38.2%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 73)	5.5%	12.3%	32.9%	49.3%

28. Religious teachings provide the on1y real obstacles to total acceptance of gays in the Navy.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**4.5%**	**11.7%**	**52.7%**	**30.5%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 213)	4.2%	6.1%	47.0%	42.7%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	2.7%	5.0%	44.5%	47.8%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	4.5%	5.4%	34.3%	55.8%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**3.9%**	**7.8%**	**50.0%**	**38.2%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 73)	5.5%	4.1%	30.1%	60.3%

29. Civilian homosexuals are of no consequence to me.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**17.7%**	**48.8%**	**26.0%**	**6.6%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 214)	17.3%	40.2%	33.2%	9.4%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	14.0%	37.2%	35.2%	13.6%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	16.0%	39.4%	31.2%	13.4%

2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**30.4%**	**35.3%**	**26.5%**	**7.8%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 74)	18.9%	44.6%	29.7%	6.8%

30. I would not want a gay person as a neighbor.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**4.2%**	**15.0%**	**51.8%**	**29.0%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 213)	6.6%	25.4%	43.7%	24.4%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	11.4%	27.3%	47.8%	13.5%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	16.2%	28.9%	41.1%	13.8%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**8.8%**	**23.5%**	**43.1%**	**24.5%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 74)	17.6%	28.4%	39.2%	14.9%

31. Service members who socialize in "gay bars" are engaging in sexual misconduct.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**3.0%**	**14.4%**	**62.6%**	**19.8%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 213)	6.6%	16.9%	51.6%	24.9%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	9.0%	13.6%	63.1%	14.3%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	9.1%	22.6%	53.8%	14.5%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**5.9%**	**18.6%**	**59.8%**	**14.7%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 72)	9.7%	30.6%	44.4%	15.3%

32. Heterosexual orientation is an inherited trait.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**6.0%**	**34.7%**	**44.6%**	**13.2%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 213)	11.3%	31.5%	39.9%	17.4%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	13.2%	28.0%	44.6%	14.2%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	15.2%	32.3%	37.3%	15.2%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**11.8%**	**36.3%**	**30.4%**	**18.6%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 74)	12.2%	43.2%	29.7%	14.9%

33. I would have no difficulty obeying an order from the Commanding Officer to work with a homosexua1 co-worker on a difficu1t or dangerous assignment.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**21.0%**	**56.9%**	**15.6%**	**5.4%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 2l4)	20.6%	46.7%	20.6%	12.2%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	16.6%	45.0%	27.8%	10.6%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	14.3%	35.4%	30.2%	20.1%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**19.6%**	**51.0%**	**21.6%**	**7.8%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	10.8%	33.8%	32.4%	23.0%

34. Homosexuals and heterosexuals should have equal rights.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**26.3%**	**47.0%**	**21.0%**	**4.8%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 213)	29.6%	40.9%	19.3%	10.3%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	23.3%	43.9%	15.9%	16.9%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	20.3%	40:2%	21.5%	18.0%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**29.4%**	**43.1%**	**15.7%**	**11.8%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 73)	12.3%	41.1%	27.4%	19.2%

35. Homosexuals could pose a health risk to the Navy.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**10.2%**	**29.0%**	**45.5%**	**14.4%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 213)	18.3%	31.0%	35.7%	15.0%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	25.8%	39.6%	27.2%	7.4%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	37.0%	37.0%	20.1%	5.9%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**16.7%**	**34.3%**	**30.4%**	**18.6%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	36.5%	33.8%	21.6%	8.1%

36. Compared with my peers, I consider myself more to1erant on the issue of homosexuals in the military.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**18.0%**	**52.1%**	**24.6%**	**4.2%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 214)	14.5%	56.1%	22.4%	7.0%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	15.7%	48.5%	31.4%	4.4%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	15.9%	40.2%	34.6%	9.3%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**23.5%**	**36.3%**	**33.3%**	**6.9%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	16.2%	35.1%	40.5%	8.1%

37. The current policy will have more impact on women than on men.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**0.3%**	**5.4%**	**77.8%**	**15.0%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 212)	0.9%	5.2%	72.2%	21.7%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	1.4%	6.8%	71.1%	20.7%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	3.5%	6.1%	67.8%	22.6%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**0.0%**	**4.9%**	**75.5%**	**17.6%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	1.4%	12.2%	75.7%	10.8%

38. On the whole, I like the current policy better than the old policy.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**3.3%**	**53.3%**	**32.9%**	**8.4%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 213)	3.8%	40.4%	33.8%	22.1%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	2.8%	27.0%	36.7%	33.6%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	4.7%	18.6%	30.8%	45.9%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**2.0%**	**34.3%**	**39.2%**	**20.6%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	2.7%	17.6%	37.8%	41.9%

39. My attitude toward homosexuals has become more tolerant since the current policy was adopted.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**0.6%**	**29.9%**	**57.8%**	**9.3%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 213)	0.5%	19.7%	57.8%	22.1%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	1.4%	14.2%	56.8%	27.7%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2004 (USMC) (n= 102)	**3.9%**	**20.6%**	**51.0%**	**24.5%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 74)	1.4%	16.2%	48.7%	33.8%

40. The current policy has the effect of encouraging homosexuals to make unwanted sexual advances.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**0.3%**	**9.6%**	**60.8%**	**27.8%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 215)	1.9%	8.8%	61.9%	27.4%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	5.2%	8.3%	64.7%	21.8%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**2.0%**	**4.9%**	**52.9%**	**40.2%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	2.7%	13.5%	63.5%	20.3%

41. A homosexual's safety or 1ife cou1d be in danger due to be1iefs he1d by other service members.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**14.4%**	**65.9%**	**17.4%**	**2.4%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 214)	28.0%	58.4%	12.2%	1.4%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	26.8%	58.7%	12.4%	2.0%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**21.6%**	**65.7%**	**9.8%**	**2.0%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	23.0%	55.4%	20.3%	1.4%

42. The Navy/Marine Corps' attitude toward homosexuals has become more tolerant since the "Don't Ask, Don't Te11" policy was implemented.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**3.3%**	**51.5%**	**41.3%**	**3.3%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 212)	9.9%	49.1%	36.8%	4.3%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	10.4%	45.1%	36.7%	7.7%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**1.0%**	**49.0%**	**42.2%**	**6.9%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	9.5%	40.5%	41.9%	8.1%

43. If homosexuals were allowed to serve open1y in the Navy/ Marine Corps, I wou1d resign my commission.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**3.0%**	**5.4%**	**51.5%**	**38.6%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 212)	13.7%	13.2%	45.3%	27.8%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	9.4%	10.4%	54.7%	25.5%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 60S)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**5.9%**	**9.8%**	**47.1%**	**36.3%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	23.0%	29.7%	36.5%	10.8%

44. The presence of a homosexual in my unit would interfere with mission accomplishment.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**7.2%**	**28.7%**	**47.0%**	**15.6%**
1999 (Navy)[a](n = 213)	18.3%	25.4%.	40.4%	16.0%
1996 (Navy)[b](n = 306)	17.7%	33.0%	35.4%	13.9%
1994 (Navy)[c](n = 605)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**21.6%**	**37.3%**	**31.4%**	**9.8%**
1999 (USMC)[a](n = 74)	37.8%	40.5%	14.9%	6.8%

45. Homosexuals should have the same rights to marry as heterosexuals*.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**12.3%**	**22.8%**	**22.8%**	**41.9%**
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**13.7%**	**19.6%**	**16.7%**	**50.0%**

* Questions 45-46 were added to the survey to represent current issues regarding homosexuals in the military.

46. If homosexuals were allowed to serve openly, their dependents should be entitled the same benefits provided to dependents of heterosexuals*.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**24.0%**	**45.2%**	**11.4%**	**18.6%**
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**26.5%**	**37.3%**	**13.7%**	**21.6%**

47. The number of service members discharged for homosexuality from my last command was.

	None	1	2	3	More than 3
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**76.9%**	**12.3%**	**5.1%**	**0.9%**	**2.4%**
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**72.5%**	**9.8%**	**6.9%**	**2.9%**	**4.9%**

48. I have a friend or relative who is homosexual.

	Yes	No	Unsure
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**56.6%**	**29.6%**	**13.8%**
1999 (Navy)[a] (n = 214)	46.3%	36.5%	17.3%
1996 (Navy)[b] (n = 306)	46.1%	53.8%	n/a
1994 (Navy)[c] (n = 605)	28.5%	51.8%	18.9%
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**51.0%**	**36.3%**	**12.7%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 74)	41.9%	40.5%	17.6%

49. I personally know a homosexual service member.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2004 (Navy) (n = 334)	**16.2%**	**19.2%**	**44.3%**	**19.5%**
1999 (Navy)[a] (n = 212)	21.2%	53.3%	25.5%	n/a
2004 (USMC) (n = 102)	**6.9%**	**12.7%**	**51.0%**	**29.4%**
1999 (USMC)[a] (n = 74)	4.1%	83.8%	12.2%	n/a

Demographic Survey Response Frequencies:

50. How many years have you been the Military?

	Navy	Marine Corps
2-5	24.3%	6%
6-9	26.6%	18%
10-12	15.6%	25%
13-15	13.8%	28%
16-20	15.9%	23%
More than 20	3.3%	0%

51. I am (Gender):

	Navy	Marine Corps
Male	83.8%	92%
Female	16.2%	6%

52. My race/ethnicity is:

	Navy	Marine Corps
Hispanic	7.5%	7%
African American	9%	7%
Caucasian	76.6%	80%
Asian/Pacific Islander	2.7%	5%
Native American	0%	0%
Other	3.6%	1%

53. I am serving in:	Navy	Marine Corps
	77%	23%

54. Navy Community Designators:

Surface	31.1%
Aviation	11.7%
Submarines	8.7%
Restricted Line	25.4%
Supply	8.7%
Human Resources	4.8%
Other/unknown	8.4%
N/A	0%

55. Marine Corps Community Designators:

Ground Combat	19%
Aviation	28%
Combat Support	30%
Support	22%
Unknown	0%
N/A	1%

56. My Pay Grade is:		**Navy**	**Marine Corps**
O-1	9.90%		0%
O-2		5.70%	7%
O-3		60.2%	56%
O-4		20.4%	36%
O-5		3%	1%

[a] Source: John W. Bicknell, “Study of Naval Officers’ Attitudes Toward Homosexuals in the Military” (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2000), 71-77.

[b] Source: Margaret R. Friery, "Trends in Navy Officer Attitudes Toward the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' Policy," (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 1997), 71-77.

[c] Source: Fred Cleveland and Mark Ohl, "'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' - Policy Analysis and Interpretation," (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 1994), 86-89.

APPENDIX B. INITIAL DISTRIBUTION EMAIL

-----Original Message-----
From: Garcia, Alfonzo USA
Sent: Mon 11/29/2004 7:59 AM
To: fellownps-officers@yahoo.com
Cc: Eitelberg, Mark USA; Garcia, Alfonzo USA; Thomas, Gail USA
Subject: Survey: Attitudes of Officers Toward Gays in the Military

Fellow Officers:

Did you know that DoD's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy was the most heavily covered story of any dealing with the military on TV news during the entire decade of the 1990s? That it received more total news coverage than even Operation Desert Storm or the military's massive downsizing? I'm administering a survey, "Attitudes of Officers Toward Gays in the Military," as part of my thesis research in the Graduate School of Business and Public Policy. WON'T YOU PLEASE TAKE THE TIME TO HELP ME BY COMPLETING THIS SURVEY?

Your participation will assist me in identifying trends in officers' attitudes. This will be the fourth administration of the survey at NPS. The survey was first distributed in 1993, a few months after DoD's policy was first introduced. The very same survey was administered again in 1996 and, most recently, in 1999.

Your responses to the survey questions are entirely anonymous. The survey takes about 15 minutes to complete and is available online through the "Zoomerang" link below. I think you'll find the questions (originally developed in 1993-1994) very interesting.

SIMPLY CLICK THE LINK BELOW to begin taking this simple survey. If you have any problems with the link or questions about the survey, please contact me at aegarcia@nps.edu.

Attitudes of Officers Toward Gays in the Military

THANK YOU for your time and for helping to make my study a success!

VR,

LT Alfonzo Garcia

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APPENDIX C. REMINDER EMAIL

-----Original Message-----
From: Garcia, Alfonzo USA
Sent: Thu 12/2/2004 7:47 AM
To: fellownps-officers@yahoo.com
Cc: Eitelberg, Mark USA; Garcia, Alfonzo USA; Thomas, Gail USA
Subject: REMINDER - Survey: Attitudes of Officers Toward Gays in the Military
Fellow Students and Officers:

If you haven't done so already, please take a few minutes to complete the online survey "Attitudes of Officers Toward Gays in the Military" containing 56 short questions. You should have received my original request along with additional information on 29 NOV 04. The survey will end in just a few days, on 06 DEC at 2100. As explained in my earlier email, this survey was previously administered at NPS in 1994, 1996, and 1999 – and I'm very interested in comparing responses across the years. Your participation in the survey would be MOST VALUABLE to my thesis research.

If you've already taken the survey, THANK YOU for your time and for your help!

Note: The Zoomerang tool does not include partially completed surveys in the final results. When you take the survey, PLEASE consider answering all questions.

As it turns out, a number of Navy and Marine officers submitted partially completed surveys. If you knowingly submitted a partially completed survey and you'd like to have your responses included in the final results, I ask that you return to the survey and submit a completed form. THANKS AGAIN FOR YOUR TIME & HELP!

Attitudes of Officers Toward Gays in the Military <http://www.zoomerang.com/survey.zgi?p=WEB223XAXM65FE>

VR,

LT Alfonzo Garcia

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5. Commander (Ret.)Bill Hatch
   Naval Postgraduate School
   Monterey, California

6. LT Alfonzo E. Garcia
   Kenosha, Wisconsin